

CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

Volume XXXII

APRIL 1937

Number 2

THE PROEM OF PARMENIDES

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THE fragments of Parmenides are an important monument of Greek poetry at the beginning of the fifth century B.C. In time they cannot be far removed from Pindar's *Pythian* x, written in 498, or from Aeschylus' *Supplices*, which was surely written before 490. With these flights of lyrical genius the poem has little in common, but it belongs to the same age, and it has suffered from being too often considered either in isolation as a contribution to truth or as an episode in purely philosophical poetry. But it presents questions to the literary critic which have little direct relation to its metaphysics, and particularly in the Proem Parmenides attempts a manner of writing so unusual that it is easy to dismiss it as an eccentricity of a philosopher attempting a task for which nature had not equipped him. But Parmenides was a careful and singularly exact writer, and the composition of his Proem no doubt cost him as much pains as the exposition of reality which it precedes. In it he had something to say of great importance, and he adopted a remarkable method to which Greek poetry presents hardly any parallel. The origins of his method have been studied, but a knowledge of them does not explain either what he meant to say or what his contemporaries would see in his words. If we can understand what the Proem meant in the thought of his time, we may perhaps understand better how Parmenides viewed his calling as a philosopher.¹

¹ Cf. especially H. Diels, *Parmenides Lehrgedicht* (Berlin, 1897); J. Dörfler, *Die Eleaten und die Orphiker* (Prog. Freistadt, 1911); W. Kranz, *Über Aufbau und Bedeutung des Parmenideischen Gedichtes* (Berlin, 1916).

Diels was probably right in assuming that behind Parmenides' Proem there lies a considerable literature which has almost entirely disappeared. There were certainly poems which described descents into hell,² and there may have been poems which described ascents into heaven, although the evidence for them is extremely scanty and the story of Empedotimus, told by Servius *ad Georg.* i. 34 cannot be pressed since its date is not known. But even if such ascents had a poetry of their own, it seems to be quite different from that of Parmenides. For these poets surely told of such adventures as facts which they expected to be taken as literally true. When Epimenides told of his converse with gods in the Dictaeon Cave, he stated what he claimed to be a fact. It could be believed or disbelieved, but there was no question of allegory or symbolism. But Parmenides is plainly allegorizing. The allegory may of course be based on something akin to a mystical experience, but it is nonetheless an allegory. The transition from night to day is the transition from ignorance to knowledge; the sun-maidens who accompany the poet are the powers in him which strain toward the light; the horses who know the road are his own impulses toward truth; the way on which he travels is the way of inquiry. The allegory is revealed as soon as the goddess begins to speak. For then the way with its three different branches becomes the ways of truth, of not-being, and of opinion. The allegory breaks down when the poet gets to his real task, and we may be fairly certain that Parmenides is not giving the literal record of a spiritual adventure but clothing his search for truth in an allegorical dress.

Parmenides' Proem may be called allegorical because it has two meanings—the superficial meaning which tells a story and the implied meaning which gives the essential message of the poet. He tells of a chariot journey through gates to a goddess, but what he really describes is the transition from ignorance to knowledge. The use of allegory on such a scale is extremely rare in early Greek poetry. The first signs of it may be detected in Homer's account of the *Λιταί*³ and in Hesiod's steep path which leads to *'Απερὴ*.⁴ But in neither

² The question of such poetry is discussed by E. Norden in his *Aeneis*, VI, esp. 1–10. He is primarily concerned with Orpheus in his notes on vss. 120, 264 ff., 384–416, 548–627, and with Heracles on vss. 131 ff., 260, 309–12, 384–416, 477–93, 538–627, 666–78.

³ i. 502 ff.

⁴ *Op.* 298 ff.

of these is much added to the essential facts by the allegorical dress, and in both the allegory is closely related to traditional mythology. In the sixth century allegory became more detached from mythology, and its range was widened. Alcaeus uses it for political purposes in his weather-beaten ship and grapes gathered too soon;⁵ Simonides develops Hesiod's theme of 'Αρετή,⁶ and the Delphic oracle allegorized to Glaucus in its handless, footless, and nameless child of the oath.⁷ Nor is it hard to see why allegory was developed in this way. It gave a new emphasis and importance to ethical and political ideas by expressing them in striking images. What might otherwise degenerate into dull moral maxims were raised to an imaginative level. With this method that of Parmenides has much in common. His picture is consistent and sustained; it creates what is almost a new myth instead of being an addition to old myths; it describes a series of events. But it is longer and more fully developed than any previous allegory, and above all the images used have such emotional force and meaning that it looks as if Parmenides chose them with great precision as well calculated to convey certain aspects of his thought.

To be intelligible an allegory must use images whose secondary meaning is commonly accepted and easily seen. The need is the greater when the allegorist does not explain himself, as for instance Bunyan does, by giving titles which show exactly what he means. Parmenides gives no such titles, and his allegory appealed to his readers through the emotional and intellectual associations of its component parts. He need not necessarily have written for a wide public, but he must have expected that some circles of educated men would understand the implications of his Proem. Fortunately we are able to relate two of his main features to other poetry of his time and to see what meaning they had for his contemporaries. First, there is the imagery of darkness and light. For Parmenides these stand for ignorance and knowledge, and in this he has no known predecessors. But his contemporary, Pindar, also used the imagery of darkness and light,⁸ and his method illustrates that of Parmenides. In par-

⁵ Frags. 6 and 87 (Lobel).

⁶ Frag. 37 (Diehl).

⁷ Hdt. vi. 86.

⁸ The whole question is well discussed by H. Gundert, *Pindar und sein Dichterberuf* (Frankfurt, 1935).

ticular Pindar uses light as an image for the glory and abiding fame which are brought to great achievements by song. In this kind of fame truth is an essential part, and fame consists in being known. So in its own way Pindar's conception of light resembles that of Parmenides. Both regard knowledge as a kind of enlightenment, and though the knowledge of which they speak has very different contents, it is still vital and valuable. Conversely, both regard ignorance as a kind of darkness, as obscurity in the strict sense of the word. When, for instance, Pindar says

καὶ μεγάλαι γὰρ ἀλκαὶ
σκότον πολλὸν ὕμνων ἔχοντι δέομεναι,⁹

he indicates that if great deeds are not known, they are wrapped in darkness. The general ignorance of them is a positive night. So Parmenides thinks that a man who does not know the truth is in the dark. His use of the metaphor is not the same as Pindar's, but it is the same metaphor. The fact that both can use the imagery of light and darkness freely without much explanation shows that the ideas must have been comparatively familiar. The origin of the imagery is not known to us, but by the early fifth century it was sufficiently familiar for not only Parmenides and Pindar but also Bacchylides to use it.¹⁰

A second feature of Parmenides' Proem which had been used before is his metaphysical chariot. In the sixth and fifth centuries the chariot is used more than once to describe some metaphysical activity, whether fame or song. The earliest example may perhaps be detected in Theognis, who in foretelling how Cynus' name will travel over sea and land says:

οὐκ ἵππων νώτοισιν ἐφήμενος, ἀλλὰ σε πέμψει
ἀγλαὰ Μουσάων δῶρα ἰσπεφάνων.¹¹

His words are allusive and uncertain, but it looks as if the "gifts of the Muses" were an alternative to some metaphysical horses which carry a man, or his fame, over the sea. There seems to be behind Theognis some poem or proverb which told of such a journey, and he improves upon this when he says that the Muses alone will transport Cynus.

⁹ *Nem.* vii. 12.

¹⁰ viii. 20-21; xiii. 175-76.

¹¹ *Vss.* 249-50.

A much clearer example of the figure occurs in Simonides, who speaks of the chariot of victory:

τοσσάκι δ' ἱμερόεντα διδασκόμενος χορὸν ἀνδρῶν
εὐδόξου Νίκης ἀγλαὸν ἄρμ' ἐπέβης.¹²

So in his *Περὶ Φύσεως* Empedocles tells his Muse to send him a chariot:

πέμπε παρ' Εὐσεβίης ἐλάουσ' εὐήνιον ἄρμα,¹³

and at a later date Euripides applied the figure to prosperity and wrote

ἔθραυσεν ὀλβου κελαινὸν ἄρμα.¹⁴

The commonest use of the figure is for song. Bacchylides calls on the Muse:

λευκώλενε Καλλιόπα,
στᾶσον εὐποίητον ἄρμα
αὐτοῦ.¹⁵

And Pindar uses it several times.¹⁶ Of these one presents such parallels to the Proem of Parmenides that some connection between the two seems certain. In *Olympian* vi. 25 ff. Pindar speaks of the gates of song through which his ode, like a chariot, will drive to Arcadia:

ὦ Φίντις, ἀλλὰ ζεύξον ἥδη μοι σθένος ἡμιόνων,
ᾗ τάχος, ὄφρα κελεύθω τ' ἐν καθαρᾷ
βάσομεν ὄκχον, ἵκωμαί τε πρὸς ἀνδρῶν
γένος· κεῖναι γὰρ ἐξ ἀλλᾶν ὁδὸν ἀγεμονεῦσαι
ταύταν ἐπίστανται· χρὴ τοίνυν πύλας ὕ-
μνων ἀναπιτνάμεν αὐταῖς.

Here is a marked resemblance to Parmenides' proem both in main points and in smaller points of language.¹⁷ Both poets describe a chariot drive through opened gates, and in both the drive is not actual but metaphysical. Moreover, both attribute wisdom to their animals, for while those of Parmenides are *πολύφραστοι*, those of Pindar *ἐπίστανται*. In points of detail we may note that certainly Pindar's *βάσομεν* and probably Parmenides' *βῆσαν* are both transi-

¹² Frag. 79. 3-4 (Diehl).

¹⁴ HF 780.

¹³ Frag. 4. 5.

¹⁵ v. 176-78.

¹⁶ Pind. *Ol.* ix. 80; *Pyth.* x. 64; *Nem.* i. 4; *Isthm.* i. 6; viii. 68.

¹⁷ Cf. H. Fraenkel, *Parmenidesstudien* (Berlin, 1930), pp. 154-55.

tive, that Pindar's *ὁδὸν ἀγεμονεύσαι* is remarkably like Parmenides' *ὁδὸν ἡγεμόνειον*, that *πύλας ἀναπιτνάμεν* and *πύλαι ἀναπιτνάμεναι* are variations on the same phrase. Pindar's poem was written in 468 and is later than Parmenides'. Either he imitated Parmenides or both poets were influenced by a common source. Of the alternatives the second seems the more probable, both because the figure of the chariot of song is not new to Pindar and there would be no need for him to take it from Parmenides, and because the whole picture fits so easily into an ode written for a winner in a chariot race that it looks as if it belonged there rightly, betraying no traces of maladjustment such as are usually found in imitations. The probability is that both poets drew on some common original, and if this was a familiar poem of the sixth century, we can understand why Parmenides without further explanation used the chariot to describe his metaphysical journey.

The symbolism of light and darkness and the metaphysical chariot must then have been known to the kind of men for whom Parmenides wrote. Therefore he uses them without explanation and builds his myth round them. But they do not constitute all the myth, nor indeed do they cover all its most important elements. The gates of night and day, whose construction and method of opening get a full share of notice, are plainly important in the myth and seem to have had a place in the source used by Pindar and Parmenides, but they are not a commonplace at this period. That they were traditional, however, may perhaps be deduced from the vagueness with which Parmenides describes their position. His only definite statement is that they are *αἰθέρια*. He uses the word in fragment 10. 1 to mean "in the sky," and here too it must have the same meaning. The gates resemble those of Olympus which Apollonius calls *αἰθερίας* and places in the sky.¹⁸ Their position throws some light on the stages of Parmenides' journey which is otherwise obscure. The first stage for the sun-maidens, if not for him, is in the darkness, for the sun-maidens join the poet *προλιπούσαι δώματα νυκτός*. The second stage must be from the darkness to the gates, but nothing is said of this, and presumably it is of no importance. The third stage is when the poet and the sun-maidens come *εἰς φάος*, and this seems to include the passage

¹⁸ iii. 159-60; *πύλας ἐξήλυσεν Οὐλύμποιο αἰθερίας*.

through the gates and the journey beyond it, at the end of which the goddess is. The nature of the gates is given in the line (frag. 1. 11) *ἔνθα πύλαι Νυκτός τε καὶ Ἡματός εἰσι κελεύθων*. Behind this there lies a traditional idea which is known from Hesiod *Theogony* 748 ff. He tells of the great threshold of bronze near the home of night, where night and day greet each other as they pass. The gates of Parmenides with their *λάϊνος οὐδός* are like this *μέγας οὐδός χάλκεος*, both in their solidity and in their relation to day and night. They differ from it in that they are in the sky, while it is placed on the edge of the earth. This difference does not hinder the conclusion that such gates were familiar from poetry or folk lore and that when his readers heard of them they would see that Parmenides was concerned with something of cosmic grandeur. The gates are for him a symbol of great importance. They stand for the obstacles between a man and the truth, and for this reason he describes their solidity and the noise they make on opening. By these simple means he emphasizes the importance which the passage through the gates has for his allegory.

The gates are in the sky, and through the sky the chariot of Parmenides must be conceived as traveling. That he should so present himself implies a background where such journeys were known. His readers might of course recall Apollo driving in his swan-drawn chariot to the Hyperboreans or Aphrodite with her team of sparrows. But there were probably closer parallels than these. An Orphic poem describes Phanes as *χρυσείαις πτερύγεσσι φορέυμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα*,¹⁹ on which Hermias comments *οὐ πρῶτος δὲ ὁ Πλάτων ἡνίοχον καὶ ἵππους παρέλαβεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἔνθεοι τῶν ποιητῶν, Ὅμηρος, Ὀρφεύς, Παρμενίδης*.²⁰ But closer than any of these was a story as old as Hesiod to which Parmenides owes not merely a general idea but also some details which betray its origin. The story of Phaethon was told in the fifth century by Aeschylus in the *Heliades*²¹ and Euripides in his *Phaethon*.²² The story must have been well known, and the contemporaries of Parmenides would easily recognize certain points taken from it. First, Parmenides gives a role to the Heliades. In the old myth they were characters of some importance. It was they who, without

¹⁹ Frag. 78 (Kern). ²⁰ In Plat. *Phaedr.* 246a (p. 122, l. 19). ²¹ Frag. 68-73 (Nauck).

²² Frags. 771-86 (Nauck); cf. H. Volmer, *De Euripidis fabula quae Phaëthon inscribitur* (Münster, 1930).

their father's consent, harnessed the sun's horses for Phaethon. They were partners and conspirators in his adventure, and for this they were transformed into poplar trees.²³ Parmenides makes them his own companions and says that they urged him on—*σπερχαίατο πέμπειν*. He adds that they come leaving the halls of night, and this too suits the view of Hesiod that night and day dwelt in the same palace although they never met in it.²⁴ He adds too the curious detail that they come *ἀπὸ κρήδεμνα βαλοῦσαι*—a detail indicative of almost indecent haste which surely comes from some old story. Second, the gates of the east seem to have had some part in the story of Phaethon. Euripides had spoken of the sun leaving them,²⁵ and since Homer speaks of *Ἡελίοιο πύλαι*²⁶ in the west, it is possible that there were others in the east. The passing through gates by Parmenides' chariot would to some extent coincide with the passage of Phaethon. Third, Parmenides says that the axle of his chariot is *αἰθόμενος*. The word ought to mean "blazing," and Burnet's "glowing" misses the point. The word hints at the fact that the sun's chariot, which Phaethon borrowed, was literally glowing with fire. Nonnus knew this when he spoke of *ἔμπυρον ἄρμα* and *φλογερός ὑπήνη*,²⁷ and Lucian when he described Phaethon *ἐπιβάς τοσούτου πυρός*.²⁸ Parmenides too has a fiery axle, and in this he resembles Phaethon.

It would of course be wrong to say that Parmenides identifies himself with, or stages himself as, Phaethon. He does not mention Phaethon's name, but he has used certain elements in his story to make his own myth. His purpose must have been to indicate that his own journey was a great celestial adventure like that of Phaethon and that he too traveled through the sky. But he develops his myth to a different conclusion, and once he passes the gates and is welcomed by the goddess all association with Phaethon is lost. His entry into the realm of light had also its mythological associations, and above all it recalls how Heracles after his funeral pyre on Oeta was taken to heaven in a chariot. Ovid describes the scene:

quem pater omnipotens inter cava nubila raptum
quadriugo curru radiantibus intulit astris.²⁹

²³ Hyginus *Fab.* 152.

²⁴ *Theog.* 751-54.

²⁵ *Frag.* 773. 16 (Nauck).

²⁶ *ω* 12.

²⁷ *Dionys.* xxxviii. 192 and 214.

²⁸ *Dial. deor.* 25. 2.

²⁹ *Met.* ix. 271-72.

But the story was current long before him and must go back to the lost epics on Heracles. Greek vases of the sixth and fifth centuries show him on a chariot in a festal cloak accompanied by Athene, while other gods accompany them on foot.³⁰ On a late black-figured amphora in the Louvre, Zeus is in the company,³¹ while a vase in the British Museum has the inscription Διός by the horses.³² These scenes must be of the last ride of Heracles, and show that the story was familiar in the sixth century. So Parmenides, also accompanied by divine attendants, drives through the sky to his goddess. When he reaches the end, she welcomes him with friendly words, and this too recalls the end of Heracles' journey to Olympus. The actual moment of his arrival was a favorite theme of Greek artists. It may be seen on the pediment of the Hecatompedon; it was depicted on the Amyclean throne;³³ before the middle of the sixth century it was painted on the little-master cup of Phrynos.³⁴ Its popularity with artists like Amasis³⁵ show that it was an accepted and common theme. Parmenides' reception by the goddess is of this kind. She takes his hand in hers and addresses kind words to him, just as on the Phrynos cup Athene takes Heracles by the left arm with her right hand and leads him to Zeus.

Neither in his symbolism of night and day nor in his construction of a myth from elements in the stories of Phaethon and Heracles would Parmenides say anything that was ultimately strange to his contemporaries. His combination of these features might well surprise them, but they would see that he was recounting a celestial journey and they would see what this meant. That he should speak of such a journey would not surprise those who knew the claims of Aristeas and Epimenides, but they might legitimately feel that in so describing his experiences Parmenides almost made himself divine. Both the journey and the converse with the goddess are above human experience and not the sort of thing that most poets claimed for themselves.

³⁰ Examples are a pelike at Munich (Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler*, p. 452, No. 3) and a neck amphora at Berlin (No. 1870).

³¹ Cf. A. Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I, 2219.

³² Brit. Mus. No. 567.

³³ Paus. iii. 18. 11.

³⁴ J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure*, p. 7.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 32 ff., Nos. 8, 9, 11, 13, 22, and 26.

But even if he implies such a claim, Parmenides is not unique in his time. The poet had the right to say that he had consorted with the gods. Hesiod saw the Muses on Helicon; Sappho saw Aphrodite in her chariot; Pindar saw Alcmaeon. Parmenides certainly tells of an adventure more remarkable than any of these, and, unlike them, he suggests that he himself is more than ordinary man. But this too was a characteristic of the religious leaders of his time. There were stories of the superhuman activities of Pythagoras, and in his *Καθαρμοί* Empedocles claims to be a god:

χαίρετ'. ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητὸς
 πωλεύμαι μετὰ πᾶσι τετιμένος, ὥσπερ ἔοικα,
 ταινίαις τε περιστεπτος στέφουσιν τε θαλείοις.³⁶

There were many degrees of divinity, and neither Parmenides nor Empedocles claims to be a complete god. But there is something divine about them, and this their adherents are expected to recognize.

Since Parmenides makes this claim, it is clear that his Proem is intended to have the importance and seriousness of a religious revelation. He proclaims that he himself has consorted with a goddess and learned his message from her. But the very vagueness of his expressions shows that he is not writing for any single sect or body of opinion. In the extant fragments his goddess does not even get a name, and we may dispute whether she is the Muse or *Δίκη* or *Ἀλήθεια* or another. But in fact she is meant to be anonymous. She is a symbol for the poet's personal experience and his own discovery of the truth. This experience is unique to him, and therefore he can hardly attribute it to a goddess who is shared with other men. His anonymous goddess indicates that his message is inspired, but it equally indicates that other men must not expect to know too exactly what the source of inspiration is. She is the crown and end of his experience; with her begin the real day and the revelation of truth, and with her the myth ends. Until he introduces her, Parmenides uses his allegory; but when she speaks, it ends. If she is anything, she is the source of light and enlightenment. Nor would such an undefined and unnamed figure seem altogether strange to the Greeks. In her own way she resembles Theia, the mother of the sun, whom Pindar makes responsible for the

³⁶ Frag. 112. 4-6.

glitter of gold and for the glory which attends victories.³⁷ She too is a principle of light, and it may have been with her in his mind that Parmenides assigned so important a role to his goddess.

The figures of Parmenides' Proem are traditional, but he uses them for a certain purpose and for what seems to be an unusual end. His application of light and darkness to knowledge and ignorance has close similarities to the usage of Pindar, but it is not the same. Parmenides uses the symbols for something narrower and less concerned with active life than Pindar does. He is concerned only with the search for truth and with a special part of it. He takes the traditional symbols and uses them for an exclusive activity. He is not concerned with ethics, still less with any definite act or occasion. His special sphere is knowledge, and to this he rigorously confines himself. This was surely a new thing. To treat the search for truth as something all important like this has no known antecedents in Greek literature. Moreover, Parmenides has to justify himself for the choice of his activity. He is at pains to explain that his journey is right and good, and he makes his goddess say

χαῖρ', ἐπεὶ οὔτι σε μοῖρα κακὴ προύπεμπε νέεσθαι
τήνδ' ὁδόν (ἧ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐκτὸς πάτου ἐστίν)
ἀλλὰ Θέμις τε Δίκη τε.

Where Themis and Dike have sent him, he assumes that there can be nothing wrong. With a similar intention he makes Dike guard the gates of night and day. His choice of her as a gatekeeper is remarkable in that later in the poem (at frag. 8. 12) he assigns a different role to her and makes her the power who prevents anything from coming to be or passing away. The fundamental power in his universe was Dike, and he seems to have identified her with 'Ανάγκη.³⁸ When he places Dike at the gates, he shows that the discovery of the truth is both natural and right. The controlling power of the universe admits him to her secrets, and he uses her name to show that this admittance need offend no ethical opinion. What he means in modern language is that the pursuit of truth is in itself an ethical activity.

³⁷ *Isthm.* v. 1 ff.

³⁸ Aetius ii. 7: καὶ δαίμονα κυβερνήτην καὶ κληροῦχον [κληδοῦχον, Füllerborn] ἐπονομάζει Δίκην τε καὶ 'Ανάγκην.

The ethical character of Dike is shown by the epithet *πολύποινος* which is given to her. The epithet was perhaps traditional and occurs in a line attributed to Orpheus: *τῷ δὲ Δίκη πολύποινος ἐφέσπετο πᾶσιν ἀρωγός*.³⁹ The Orphic view was simply that Dike rewarded the good and punished the evil. Parmenides extends the notion of rewards and punishments to the spheres of truth and falsehood. Presumably he means that those who seek the truth will be rewarded with some revelation such as he has had, while the ignorant will stay in darkness. This notion of Dike is further stressed when her keys are called *ἀμοιβούς*. The word may of course have a superficial meaning and describe what the keys are like, but it must also have another meaning "requiting." That the word means this is shown by Suidas⁴⁰ and Eustathius⁴¹ and well illustrated by Hesiod's use of *ἀμοιβή* to mean "requital"⁴² and the use of *ἀμοιβαῖος* with words like *νέμεσις*⁴³ and *φόνος*.⁴⁴ Parmenides says that Dike holds the keys of requital and the idea is related to that suggested by *πολύποινος*. His statement is partly illustrated by the saying of Heraclitus that *Δίκη καταλήψεται ψευδῶν τέκτονας καὶ μάρτυρας*.⁴⁵ No doubt both Heraclitus and Parmenides felt that they would be criticized for their attachment to the search for truth and for the views which they formed; in anticipation of this and in defense against it, they stressed the essentially right nature of their search.

If on the one side Parmenides defended himself on ethical grounds, on the other side he had to state his position with regard to certain religious beliefs. He himself had some connections with the Pythagorean circles of Velia, and it is quite possible that his opinions seemed a little strange to his fellow-Pythagoreans. Believing as they did in the importance of certain rules of life, they might perhaps think that Parmenides was not on the right way. His answer is made by a use of certain religious terms which are connected with the notion of the way. The word *ὁδός* occurs eleven times in the extant fragments, and provides the framework for his whole scheme. But in the Proem it

³⁹ Frag. 158 (Kern).

⁴⁰ *S.v.* *ἀμοιβόν*; cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁴¹ *Ad Il.*, p. 960.

⁴² *Op.* 334.

⁴⁴ *Opp. Cyn.* ii. 485.

⁴³ *Anth. Pol.* x. 123.

⁴⁵ Frag. 28.

is explained in two places. At the very beginning he speaks of his horses which

μ' ἐς ὁδὸν βῆσαν πολύφημον ἄγουσαι
δαίμονος, ἣ κατὰ πάντ' ἄστη φέρει εἰδότα φῶτα.

Here the antecedent of ἣ seems more likely to be δαίμονος than ὁδόν, since the word-order points to this, and φέρει, though commonly used intransitively of a road "leading" somewhere, does not seem to be used transitively of a road "leading" someone. Parmenides speaks of a ὁδὸς δαίμονος, and the figure recalls other supernatural roads which belong to the gods. An Orphic hymn speaks of θεῶν ὁδοὶ οὐρανόων⁴⁶ and Pindar of the Διὸς ὁδὸν παρὰ Κρόνου τύρσιν⁴⁷ by which heroes travel to the island of the blest. Parmenides' road is supernatural like these, and it belongs to the divinity who guides him κατὰ πάντ' ἄστη. This universal traveling is also a religious idea, and an Orphic tablet from Thurii says "Ἦλιε πῦρ, διὰ πάντ' ἄστη νίσεαι."⁴⁸ Parmenides knows that the divine road on which he travels is no earthly way but comparable to these supernatural ways. His language claims for it an importance equal to theirs. He knows too that it is not known to every man, and that is why he makes his goddess say that it is ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἑκτὸς πάτου.⁴⁹ Like Pindar's way of Zeus, it is reserved for a few special souls.

Who these were is shown by Parmenides in the words εἰδότα φῶτα. The "knowing mortal" comes from religion and has more than an echo of "initiate." In *Rhesus* 973 the dead hero becomes σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδόσιν θεός, and in *Clouds* 1422 Strepsiades says καὶ Ζεὺς γελοῖος ὁμύμενος τοῖς εἰδόσιν, while something of the same notion may be detected in Pindar's φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν (*Ol.* ii. 85). So Parmenides refers to the man who travels on the way of a goddess as he would to an initiate who belongs to a religious sect. But his conception of such a man has little to do with initiation through rules and ceremonies. It is what he says it is, a man who knows, and by a bold application of the words' literal meaning Parmenides claims his seeker after truth as in his own way an initiate. So too, just as in religious language the uninitiated are the ignorant and are called μηδαμὰ μηδὲν

⁴⁶ *Orph. frag.* 168. 15 (Kern).

⁴⁸ *Frag.* 47. 3 (Kern).

⁴⁷ *Ol.* ii. 70.

⁴⁹ *Frag.* 1. 27.

εἰδότες and νήιδες ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀφράδμονες,⁵⁰ so Parmenides calls those who move on the way of opinion βροτοὶ εἰδότες οὐδέν.⁵¹ He means the words literally, but for his readers they must have had religious associations and shown that Parmenides regarded those who did not know the truth about the One as men excluded from the knowledge of a mystery. Parmenides takes the accepted phrases and gives them a new meaning in a new context, but the mere fact that he takes them shows that he regards his way of truth as itself a way comparable, and presumably superior, to the ways of the religious sects.

The notion that Parmenides adopted old phrases of religion and ethics to suit his new view of life throws some light even on his philosophy. Revolutionary and overwhelming as his metaphysics were, they had at least some relation to ideas of his time held by men who made no claim to be philosophers. We do not know what relation, if any, his way of opinion bore to his way of truth, but in his distinction between them and the characteristics he ascribes to each he recalls some fundamental ideas of Pindar. Both believed in two different kinds of existence: the one real and permanent, the other transitory and deceptive. Pindar elaborates the distinction in the opening of *Nemean* vi, where he contrasts the state of man with the state of the gods. Man is completely uncertain what will happen, while the gods have an ἀσφαλὲς αἰὲν ἔδος. Parmenides makes a contrast between the permanent nature of the real and the

βροτῶν δόξας ταῖς οὐκ ἐνὶ πίστις ἀληθής.⁵²

Where Pindar believed in the unshakable home of the gods, Parmenides believed in a reality which could not change and was a whole, continuous and motionless. The language he uses of it,

ἀγένητον ἔδν καὶ ἀνώλεθρόν ἐστιν
οὐλον μουνογενές τε καὶ ἀτρεμές ἡδ' ἀτέλεστον,⁵³

is far more comprehensive and logical than any account which Pindar gives of the gods or their home. But it is almost a completion of the notion that the gods presented a contrast to man by their un-

⁵⁰ Frag. 233 (Kern); cf. F. M. Cornford, *CQ*, XXVII (1933), 100.

⁵¹ Frag. 6. 4.

⁵² Frag. 1. 30.

⁵³ Frag. 8. 3-4.

changing and certain life. With characteristic boldness Parmenides thought out what the notion of a permanent reality meant, and he reached his own surprising conclusion, but it was a conclusion whose foundations lay in the belief held by Pindar and other contemporaries.

Similarly, on the way of opinion Parmenides knows that there is ignorance and uncertainty. Their senses are no real guide to men, and he says that they

νωμᾶν ἄσκοπον ὄμμα καὶ ἠχῆσσαν ἀκοήν,⁵⁴

and he calls them

κωφοὶ ὁμῶς τυφλοὶ τε, τεθηπότες, ἄκριτα φῦλα.⁵⁵

He views them, of course, as a philosopher who is concerned with the fallibility of the senses. But his description has much in common with several passages where Pindar emphasizes man's ignorance and uncertainty of what will happen to him.⁵⁶ Pindar too points out how blind men are in appreciating real things, such as true heroic worth, and when he says

τυφλὸν δ' ἔχει

ἦτορ ὁμιλος ἀνδρῶν ὁ πλείστος⁵⁷

he is concerned with a human defect, just as Parmenides is. For the poet the transitoriness and uncertainty of human life were questions that concerned action and judgments on action; for the philosopher they were evidence for the unreality of that life. Moreover, both agree that in this life of appearance there are moments or occasions when the real impinges on it. Pindar explains his position at the end of *Pythian* viii. He first speaks of the transitoriness and shadowiness of man's life, and then he adds

ἀλλ' ὅταν αἴγλα διόσδοτος ἔλθῃ,

λαμπρὸν φέγγος ἔπεστιν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μείλιχος αἰών.⁵⁸

When this divine light comes to man, life is sweet for him and becomes for a moment like the life of the gods. Parmenides also regards the

⁵⁴ Frag. i. 35.

⁵⁵ Frag. 6. 7.

⁵⁶ *Ol.* ii. 31 ff.; *Pyth.* xii. 30 ff.; *Nem.* vi. 6 ff.

⁵⁷ *Nem.* vii. 23-24.

⁵⁸ *Pyth.* viii. 96-97; cf. A. H. Coxon, *CQ*, XXVIII (1934), 143-44.

penetration of light as vitally important in the structure of the universe. Not only is his cosmos built of *στεφάναι* which vary in their degrees of darkness and light,⁵⁹ but he explains the character of different things by the quantities in which darkness and light are mixed in them.⁶⁰ In his view the more light a thing possesses the higher it is in the scale of things, and the realm of his goddess is the realm of day—the highest of all states. For both the notions of day and night are symbols for the divine, or permanent, and the human, or illusory, elements in things.

It may then be admitted that in his Proem Parmenides uses certain ideas and images which were familiar to his time, but he used them for a new purpose, and especially he narrowed their application to his own sphere of the search for knowledge. His Proem serves a purpose in making the reader feel that he is not embarking on something entirely outside his experience. But it also serves another purpose. It shows that Parmenides views his task in a religious or mystical spirit. His choice of imagery, his mention of a *δαίμων* and a *θεά*, his use for new purposes of old elements in myths, his description of himself as an *εἰδότα φῶτα*, and above all his account of the celestial journey—all give the impression that he writes not as a mere logician but as one who has had a very special experience similar to that of those who have consorted with the gods. His attitude to his subject is far from that of the *φυσιολόγος*, and we can understand why Plato, whose combination of gifts was not unlike his, held him in high reverence. Parmenides regarded the search for truth as something akin to the experiences of mystics, and he wrote of it with symbols taken from religion because he felt that it was itself a religious activity.

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⁵⁹ Frag. 12; cf. the excellent discussion by K. Reinhardt, *Parmenides*, pp. 10–24.

⁶⁰ Frag. 9.

A PARIS FRAGMENT OF CODEX BERN 207

BLANCHE B. BOYER

THE Corpus Grammaticorum, Bern 207, is of unusual interest not only by reason of its contents but also because of its unique script and fantastic decorative forms in colophons and capitals. It was first discussed by Hermann Hagen in his *Anecdota Helvetica*,¹ where he printed a brief description of the codex, listed its contents, edited certain new portions, and collated the rest with previous editions of Keil and Putsch. Later a list of its abbreviations and an account of various palaeographical features were published by Professor W. M. Lindsay,² and its probable textual connection with the Leyden compendium, Vossianus Latinus Q 86, was treated by Professor E. K. Rand.³

To a résumé of certain points in these articles I shall add some further observations arising out of a comparison of the Corpus with Codex Latinus 7520 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Bern 207 consists of 197 folios of evenly matched medium-weight parchment measuring 301 by 175 mm. The text, in single columns of long lines (twenty-seven per page), written in an unusually small and regular hand of the late ninth or early tenth century, covers a space of 218 by 138 mm. within double margin lines on both right and left.

The script is termed "Continental-Irish" by Lindsay, and, in his opinion, it was executed by two scribes, each a skilled hand.⁴ The

¹ *Grammatici Latini*, ed. H. Keil, VIII (Suppl., 1870), xv-xxxi.

² "Bern 207," *Early Irish Minuscule Script* ("St. Andrews University Publications," VI [1910]), pp. 64-67; "Bern 207," *Palaeographia Latina* (*ibid.*, XVI [1923]), Part II, pp. 61-65.

³ "A Vade Mecum of Liberal Culture in a Manuscript of Fleury," *Philological Quarterly*, I (1922), 258-77.

⁴ Facsimiles of ff. 114r and 130r, illustrating these hands, are given by Lindsay in Pls. II and III, respectively, of *Palaeographia Latina*, Part II. Yet there are certain variations noticeable in Pls. II and III, slight but consistent throughout the codex, which appear to me as indices to three hands. The obvious element of difference is one of size: that, however insignificant of itself, is found to coincide with definite preferences for certain fixed letter forms and with the unfailing employment of, or the total disregard of, some abbreviations.

In lines 1-7 of Pl. II the medium-sized script shows a conspicuous closed double-c

same character is preserved throughout, both in general effect, i.e., a neat, wide-spaced minuscule with a few recurrent ligatures and some other devices of a more or less cursive sort, and in details, viz., individual letter forms and abbreviations. Among these characteristic features are subscript *a* and *o* common after *h* and *m*; subscript *i* added to *h*, *l*, *n*, *r*; the combination of tall *e* with *n*, *r*, *s*, *x*; *t* with *i* suspended, now from the base curve, now from the slanting crossbeam, the latter form sometimes adding subscript *a* or *o*. In the ligature *tr* the high and curved crossbeam of *t* is carried down to or below the line to form the initial stroke of *r*; the resultant form resembles somewhat a broken-backed *e* with *r* pulling the middle stroke toward the base line. The top of half-uncial *g* suffers the same prolongation frequently when it is followed by a tall *e*. The single letter *t* often assumes a Z-shape, with an exaggerated flourish beginning the top stroke; rarely this flourish is repeated at the base line, in which case the letter resembles a backward-tilted *S* with an appendage proper to *Q*. The letter *p* is frequently an open form with the loop extended upward in an *S*-curve. Of the abbreviations, the more striking are *ec̄* for *ecce*, the monograph signs of *nihil* and *nisi* (N N) and N̄ for *nunc* patterned after these, the peculiar use of *h̄* and *h̄c* for

form of *a*, and also a minuscule of uncial type with a blunt right-hand stroke; it displays a preference for straight-shafted *d* with an exaggerated long shaft, which appears also in *h* and *b*, a half-uncial *g* with open loop, and minuscule *n*; *r* and *s* neither run below the line nor are taller than *n*. In the ligature *ec* the two elements remain unchanged; in *li* the two assume inverse proportions and resemble faintly a forward-tilted *n* with the final stroke carried far below the line. The figure-7 symbol occurs frequently, and among other recurrent abbreviations are *nm̄bo*, *gn̄bo*, *d̄bo*, etc., as well as *sḡlr* and *s̄lr*.

Lines 7-27 of Pl. II show a small script with a preference for uncial *a*, fewer cases of an *oc*-type, an uncial *δ*, *g* with the bottom loop closed and the top minus a connecting stroke, uncial *N*, *r* which occasionally runs slightly below the line, *s* which rises above the level of *n*. In ligatures *ec*, *en*, *et*, the two elements are marked by economy of strokes (employing the crossbeam of *e* as the initial stroke of the consonant), while in *li* the two letters are equal in length and the curve of the suspended *i*, prominent in lines 1-7, is totally lacking. The 7-symbol is less frequent than the ligature *et*; common abbreviations include *n̄om*, *ḡen*, *d̄at*, etc., and *s̄ing*.

Pl. III, in large script written by a bold hand, exhibits uncial *a* only, both forms of *d*, though with a preference for the straight-shafted type; *g* similar to that of the small script but with an extra flourish at the top right, minuscule *n* except in the case of *nt*, *r* like that of the medium script, an angular tall *s*. Noticeable in the *li* ligature is a tendency toward clubbing the first letter.

These and similar peculiarities are repeated in various portions of the text; but the whole is so pervaded by the remarkable common features which I proceed to mention above as to make it impossible to define the limits of each separate hand.

hic and *huic*, respectively, though their normal significance is *haec* and *hunc*, the substitution of the normal Insular symbol of *quam* for *quia*, and a modification of the normal *quia* for *quam*.

As regards embellishment of the page, a noticeable item is the use of several colored inks (with minium and green predominating), both in the illuminations of initial letters and in the first lines of various sections, also in occasional small capitals within the body of the text. Large capital initials are decorated with grotesque dogs' heads (some on elongated and legless bodies), with interlocking circles and intricate scroll flourishes at the extremities. Smaller capitals in the text are sometimes treated similarly, but for the most part they are simple forms in color (green, beige, brown, red) or in the slightly reddish-brown ink of the text, and outlined with minium dots. These motifs and the predominance of red are typical of Celtic work; this evidence and that of the abbreviations for *autem*, *enim*, *huius*, *dicitur*, of the Irish glosses on ff. 146v and 148r, of the error *dn* for *dr* (f. 148r) place Bern 207 in the Insular group, though the script is not Insular, judged according to accepted standards of that hand. It may be a strictly local, Fleury (?), version of the Continental-Irish.

The body of the manuscript comprises one hundred and ninety-five leaves. Bound with these, between the title-page and the first page of text are two single folios numbered II and III, but bearing also, in the upper right-hand corner, the older numbers 264 and 257, respectively, which suggest by their similarity to the numerals on ff. 1-195 a former connection with a part of the codex now lost, though the varied contents of these two leaves differ from the rest. Folio IIr contains part of a treatise *de loquela digitorum* of Bede, a continuation of which runs over to the verso side and is there followed by five different alphabets, all in script of the same sort as the manuscript proper. At the conclusion of these, on f. IIIr, stands a fragment of grammar, *quaedam declinationum agnitione*, while on the verso there is a description of the paschal cycle and, in a late hand, a marginal entry of four verses of Optatianus Porphyrius.

According to the metrical notation of names on the title-page (f. 1v), the compilation included selections from Donatus, Asper, Priscian, Sergius, Probus, Isidore, Bede, Petrus, and Marius Servius (Martis Eruli!). Besides a transposition in the order of names, there

are conspicuous discrepancies between this enumeration and the succeeding text, viz., the insertion of additional—and anonymous—passages, and the omission of some others that are indicated on the title-page. The former includes these:

- 17r – 18v Ars quaedam anonyma
- 80v – 81r Excerpta de panegyrico Porphyrii Optatiani
- 112r – 127r Ars grammatica anonyma
- 127rv Tractatus de nominibus mobilibus
- 127v – 129v 195rv Ars anonyma compendiaria.

The latter is the absence of Priscian, Probus, and Bede.

That these authors were not omitted from the collection but have been lost from it by some mischance can, I think, be proved by an examination of Paris B.N. Lat. 7520. This, like the Bern codex, is a composite of many authors (fifteen in all are named in the catalogue description), but, unlike the other, it is made up of a number of gatherings from different independent scribes of varying school and period.

The section pertinent to this discussion is the first of the group. It consists of three complete quaternions listed under the headings: (1) "Probi grammatici tractatus de ultimis syllabis," (2) "Alcuini de catholicis uerborum; praemittuntur illius uersus nonnulli ad Carolum Magnum," (3) "Tractatus de schematibus et tropis, quem alii Bedae, alii Cassiodoro tribuunt." There are, however, five separate items of text arranged as follows:

- 1r.1–2 A rubric: "Incipit pars probi de ultimis syllabis cuius sint declinationis uel ubi terminant genitium"
- 1r.8–1v.1 Anonymous fragment: "Praepositiones locorum quattuor . . . audio audiebam. audeo audebam" [Keil, *GL*, VII, 34–35]
- 1v.1–9r.7 Probus *Catholicon*: "Nunc de catholicis nominum uerborumque rationibus. . . . Sexta forma senaria est in numero singulari primum regit sola in plurali nulla ut nullum nulle nullo" [*ibid.*, IV, 3. 2–33. 7]
- 9r.8–22v.14 Alcuin *Versus ad Karolum regem, De dialectica*: "Me lege qui ueterum cupias cognoscere sensus . . . affirmationis et negationis opposita ut: Socrates disputat. Socrates non disputat" [Migne, *PL*, CI, 951C–976A]
- 22v.15–23r.8 Isidore *Etymologiae* ii. 30, *De topicis*: "Item argumenta quae ducuntur extrinsecus quae greci tēgnos id est artis expertes . . . intrauerit; in aliquid eorum quae praedicta sunt necesse est ut cadat ingenium"
- 23r.9–24v.27 Bede *De schematibus* [title in line 9; text beginning in line 10]:

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"Solet aliquoties inscribituris ordo uerborum causa decoris aliter quam uulgaris uia dicendi . . . omnis terra psalmum dicite nomini eius. date gloriam laudi eius. dicite deo quam terribilia" [Migne, *op. cit.*, XC, 175A-180B]

These twenty-four folios are smooth parchment sheets of medium thickness measuring 270 by 175 mm., with both upper and lower margins trimmed down, as evidenced by the (now) incomplete marginal entries running off the page. The text is written in single columns of twenty-seven lines per page (Quaternion I is ruled for twenty-eight, but the last line is left vacant, serving as a lower marginal limit), and fills a space of 217 by 122 mm., with the outer margin lines 139-40 mm. apart.

The script is like that of Bern 207, calligraphic, small, employing the same unusual letter forms, ligatures and developed cursive elements, and the identical abbreviations and syllable symbols in both their normal and their peculiar significance precisely as they stand in the Bern codex. Of the actual abbreviations in Lindsay's list, only *aūl*, the queried form *c̄* for *cum*, the contraction and monogram for *nihil*, *q̄r*, *s̄mlr*, and the Visigothic symbols *n̄m̄n*, *usa*, do not occur in my notes on Paris 7520. A notable symbol for *nam* appears frequently in both manuscripts, viz., the letter *N* with a vertical transecting abbreviation-stroke (resembling a monogram of *n* and *i*).⁵ The syllable symbols of the one manuscript are paralleled by the other, even to the constant correction of the *tur*-symbol by the addition of a dot to the comma which is the usual sign, and to the occasional substitution of *tr̄* and the *ter*-symbol for *tur*. The word *igitur* in Paris 7520 illustrates each of these (and, besides, appears once as *iḡ*); and the corrected symbol and *tr̄* are common in many other words.

Likewise, the decorative features of Bern 207 are here repeated in the use of color and the elaboration of capital letters. In Quaternion I initial capitals and the opening syllables standing in the left marginal space, as well as initials in the text (frequent in ff. 1-5r and 8v, sporadic in ff. 5v-8r), are filled in with color—green, minium, and brown. In Quaternion II the capitals in the left margin and those in the text are drawn in minium, not in the ink of the text, except for a few cases on ff. 10v-11r. In Quaternion III both the initials of margin and text,

⁵ Cf. line 12 of Pl. I (Paris 7520, f. 4r) and for a variation of this symbol cf. line 26.

TROBI ARC DE VETIMIS SYLLABIS

VERITAS CATHOLICA

Exemple de proba χ^2

3635 Regius

5491
3.

Relaciones de los señores de la corte.

ΚΑΡΟΤΙΜΟΝΕΣ ΛΟΕΤΙΜΟΝΕΣ

uoluntate. Ex. In. ad. ab. Quas
primas, quo teur. & unde & teur significare.

¶ *Utrum autem.* & *ante* Duce sequatur quo ad
 & *unde* cohibetur. ¶ *Utrum simulacrum.* & *absumu.*

Laero Antiqui inducib; praepositionib; Ex. & al.

sequatur donec arceatur si x mundu hui sa nuscalon

primam autem hanc habet. Utzallat loen Qm. &

in multis latinis compositionibus fuerit. De consuetudinibus autem ut

namur si quis ex fidelibus Sacerdotum etc.

Duo ex vitiis quoniam. **U**ltimo ex qua non dicitur. Donec hanc.

Euatichano. Euclaeo. hoc consuetudo non s' uat. si p' re. ubi

sincoꝝ quatuor. x. addiebant. ut scilicet. sexumbrat

Non si. y. ppendit. Ch. in ex. o. hoerbuamur aquidm.

et confirmatus primae sententiae deest. b. de accusat. 206

na In hoc opere sapientie. G. pponitur. Ubi dicitur. Ab ad.

no; si y au contraire de ce qu'il faut admettre, si

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ba, quae. I. o. p^{er} p^{er}sonam dei rabne h. fusti q^uant

ad. vñum. pollionū. & egur. diei. ¶ Venēba. Audieba.

lib. n. lenebam. molliorem. quatuor. audibam. fallibam

ut. mollis. Lang. utno. p. na. compta. utno. variat

ma pduc la uñelã / non añelã. Audio/audiolam. - h
6401

0491

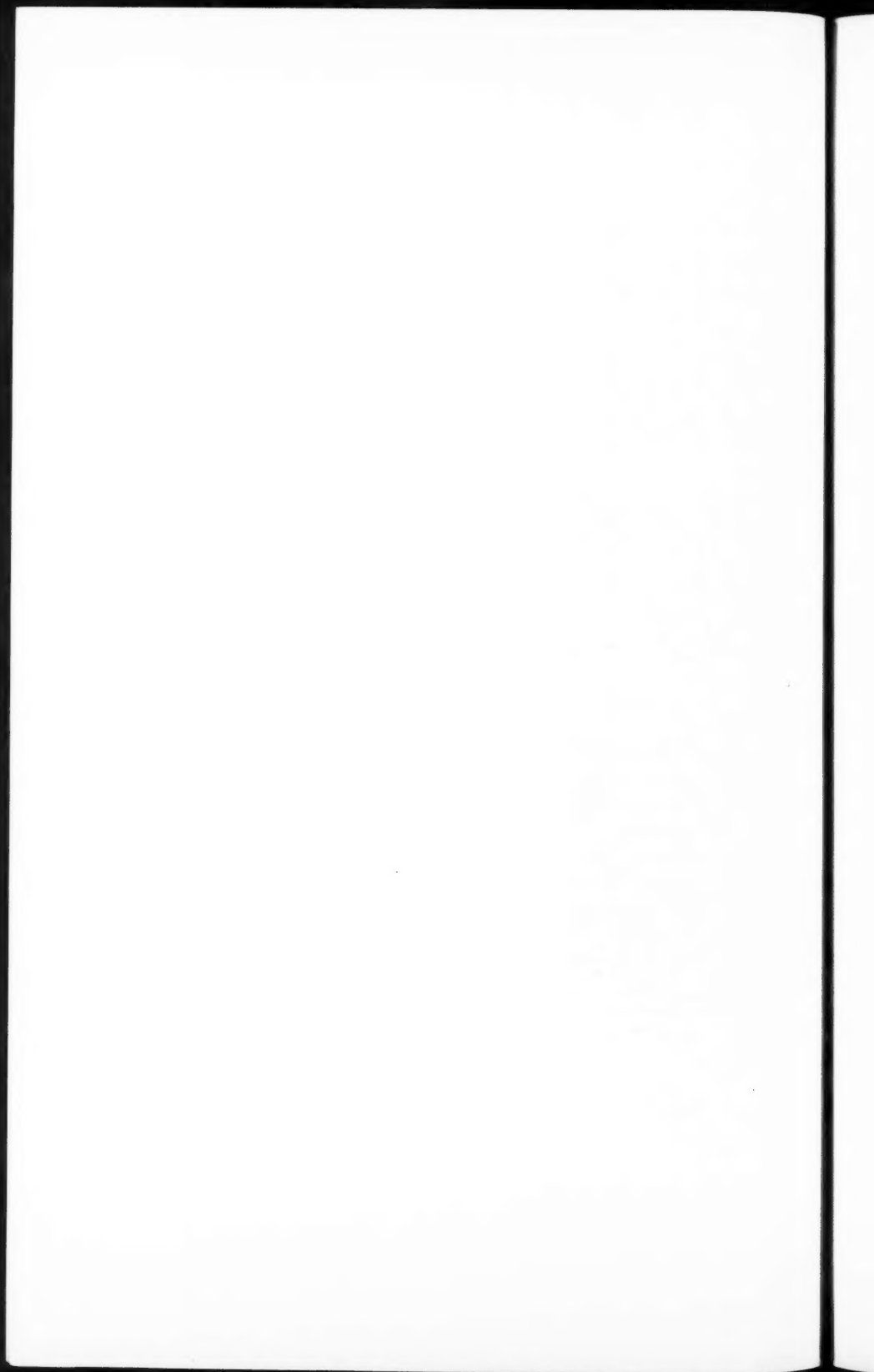
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7520

6491

5

LAF-7520



and parallel lines to mark the insertion of passages in the line above their proper place, is exactly that of 207.⁶

The rulings of each codex are old style.⁷

From these resemblances, the script, palaeographical and technical features, I conclude that 7520 is a part of 207. Further, it may be possible to demonstrate what section of the complete manuscript this part occupied.

The three quaternions of 7520 are signed: on f. 8v by a capital letter *B* preceded by three dots, on f. 16v by a minuscule *c*, and on f. 24v by an uncial *δ*—all in the ink of the text. But there can be detected also on several of these folios the (partial) numbers of an older pagination, viz., in the upper right-hand corner of f. 9r the figure 2**; f. 12r, 2**; f. 14r, 225 erased; f. 15r, 226 erased; f. 16r, 227; f. 24r, 235 (lower half of the digits erased). This fragment, then, ff. 1–24, is a consecutive unit formerly comprising ff. 212–35 of the larger opus.

The twenty-six gatherings of Bern 207, for the most part quaternions, are signed by letters A–Z; but some conspicuous irregularities obtrude. Hagen⁸ called attention to the repetition of Q as signature of two quaternions, ff. 118r–125v and 130r–137v, due to the insertion of a binion, ff. 126r–129v, “qui reliquis quaternionibus ideo adiectus est, ut artis f. 112a–127b finis adscribi posset: cetera eius binionis folia primo uacua relictæ erant, tum in eis ars illa compendiaria consedit, cuius finis f. 195 habetur.” He noted also the absence of signature in the last gathering. But his description errs on a few points: (1) failure to observe that gathering B, ff. 10–15, is a ternion like F, ff. 40–45; (2) the designation of ternion imposed on ff. 185–91, whereas f. 185 is the final leaf of quaternion Y and ff. 186–92 are a gathering of three double leaves and one single signed Z on f. 192v; (3) similarly, reference to ff. 192–95 as a binion, resulting from oversight of the occurrence twice of numeral 192, on f. 192 proper which belongs to Z and on the succeeding folio which forms with f. 194 a double leaf and should be numbered 193; f. 195, moreover, is a single leaf.

⁶ From f. 9r through f. 24v the parallel lines are preceded by three dots, usually in minium, in or slightly above the line. In the latter case they are crowded in such a way as to appear an added element.

⁷ See E. K. Rand, “How Many Leaves at a Time?” *Palaeographia Latina* (“St. Andrews University Publications,” XXIII [1927]), Part V, pp. 52–78.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. xxxi.

The inaccuracy of signatures (and of pagination) in 207 is in line with its inconsistency of text and table of contents. Accordingly, the presence of Alcuin in 7520—as the absence of Priscian—and its quaternion signatures, B, c, d, are not irreconcilable with the conception that the Paris fragment was formerly incorporated in the one-time complete *Vade Mecum*. For the reconstruction of this, therefore, I offer the following suggestion: Bern 207, ff. 1-195+two missing quaternions (=ff. 196-211 [Priscian?])+Paris 7520, ff. 1-24 (=ff. 212-35 [Probus one quaternion, Alcuin one quaternion and six folios, Isidore less than one folio, Bede one and one-half folios])+four (or more) missing quaternions, including the two extant leaves III and II (=ff. 257 and 264 [Bede]) of Bern 207.

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THE GREEK MASCULINES IN CIRCUMFLEXED -ās

WALTER PETERSEN

FROM small beginnings in the classical period the suffix -ās gradually spread out until in a possessive sense it became one of the most common suffixes in modern Greek. It commonly designates: (1) the male person in possession of a thing, as ἀμπελās, "possessor of vines"; προβατās, "man of many sheep"; (2) the possessor of a bodily or mental characteristic, e.g., κεφαλās, "fathead"; φαγās, "ravenous eater"; (3) the maker or seller of something, a special case of (1), as χαλκωματās, "coppersmith"; γαλατās, "milkman." Through the intermediate idea of fondness of the thing possessed, it came to designate anyone fond of something, cf., e.g., γυναικās, "lover of women"; κρομμυδās, "onion-eater." It occurs in a possessive sense also in many personal names and place names, the former, e.g., in Ἀμπελās or Λιβαδās, the latter in Περρās, "Rockledge," in Crete or the Cean Καλαμās, "Reedville" (cf. K. Dieterich, *Balkan-Archiv*, IV, 107 ff.).

The earliest examples of the suffix go back to the fifth century B.C., but it does not become generally frequent until the Alexandrian age, then spreads still more in the Roman and Byzantine periods, until it reaches the large extent characteristic of modern Greek.

Strangely enough, the examples of the classical period show us two distinct streams of usage which can scarcely have had anything in common at the time of their origin. In the first place, the Ionic dialect frequently used hypocoristics (*Koseformen*) in -ās, genitive -ādos (later also -ā) in the very earliest inscriptions from the fifth century B.C. on, principally in Asia Minor, but also in the neighboring islands. Thus from the fifth century in Halicarnassus: Ὀλετās (*SGDI* 5727 b 47), Ἀντιπās (*ibid.* 51), Κακρās, in the genitive Κακρādos (*ibid.* 43), in the accusative Κακρᾶν (*ibid.* 42); in Thebes on the Mycale: Βιλλās (*ibid.*, n. 45); in Thasos: Μικādos gen. (*ibid.* 5480 a 7), Νοσσικās (*ibid.* 5470 d 2), Πυθās (*ibid.* 5469, 8). From the fourth century, e.g., Βορτādos, genitive (*ibid.* 5463 a 18), from Thasos, Μητρās (*ibid.*

5590), from Ephesos, the latter also as the name of a Chian in the comic poet Antiphanes (*ap. Ath.* iii. 100 D). Other examples from Ionian inscriptions follow without classification: 'Απελλᾶς, 'Απολλᾶς, 'Αρτεμᾶς, Δαμᾶς, Δημᾶς, Διᾶς, Διονυσᾶς, Εἰρηνᾶς, 'Εκατᾶς, Ζηνᾶς, Ζωγᾶς, Ζωπᾶς, 'Ηρᾶς, Θευδᾶς, 'Ιππᾶς, Καλβαλᾶς, Μητᾶς, Μολπᾶς, Νεομᾶς, Παμφᾶς, Πρηξᾶς, Πυγμαᾶς, Σιμᾶς, Σωκρᾶς, Σωτᾶς, Ταυσᾶς.

A survey of these names shows it to be a distinct characteristic of the use of the suffix in Ionic that it is almost confined to hypocoristic short forms (*Kosenamen*) of proper names, and that these are not used as contemptuous sobriquets to any extent, if at all (cf. Herodian ii. 657. 7). With only a few exceptions they can be considered as shortened forms of compounds, e.g., 'Αντιπᾶς: 'Αντί-πατρος, Μητρᾶς: Μητρό-δωρος, Εἰρηνᾶς: Εἰρήν-ιππος, 'Ηρᾶς: 'Ηρό-δοτος, 'Ιππᾶς, e.g., for 'Ιππο-μέδων. Others are secondarily shortened forms of names of a single stem, e.g., Πυγμαᾶς: Πυγμαλίων: Σωτᾶς: Σωτάδης, Μικᾶς: Μικίων, Βαττᾶς: Βάτταλος (cf. Fick-Bechtel, p. 29). Others again are of foreign origin and received the suffix as being the closest representative of the foreign word ending; so, e.g., Βιλλᾶς and Κακρᾶς. Only a very few Ionic names in -ᾶς can be interpreted as being nicknames, most easily perhaps Μικᾶς, "Shorty," and Βαττᾶς, "Stutterer," but since they may as well be interpreted as above, we may conclude that the Ionic hypocoristics in -ᾶς were not used as sobriquets in the classical period.¹ Whether, however, the claim of Thumb (*Gr. Spr. im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, p. 231) that the latter developed from the former, and that this development can be traced in the papyri, is correct is more than doubtful. At any rate, it is necessary to test his proposition from other sources as well.

As far as the occurrence of these hypocoristic names is concerned, it may be said that they are almost, probably absolutely, confined to the Ionic dialect during the entire classical period. In the Attic inscriptions they do not appear before the time of Augustus. From the profusion of names occurring in *IG*, Volumes I and II, the only one claimed as ending in -ᾶς is 'Αλκᾶς in an old inscription from the time of Pericles, where Boeckh (*CIG*, No. 165) accented as above, but *IG*,

¹ This means merely that the addition of -ᾶς could not at that time transform a name of a different type into a nickname. If the primitive name was a sobriquet, the derivative in -ᾶς self-evidently also was one. Thus Σιμᾶς, "Flat-Nose," occurs beside its primitive Σῆμος with the same connotation.

I, 533, 50 and IG, I², 929, 116 have Ἀλκās. That Boeckh was right appears not only from the great age of the inscription, which was inscribed at a time at which Attic certainly did not as yet know the hypocoristics in -ās, but also from the obvious fact that Ἀλκās, for which we may safely assume the genitive Ἀλκαντος,² was patterned after the old and common name Βιάς Βίαντος. Also from literary sources there are no real Attic hypocoristics in -ās, for Λυκιτās is merely an impossible conjecture for λύσας in a fragment of Aristophanes, and for Λυκόττās (name of a dog) in Aeschylus (frag. 354).

Just as complete is the absence of hypocoristics in -ās from the non-Attic-Ionic dialects during the entire classical period, and the supposed examples turn out to be poorly attested or of uncertain date. Thus a very early example from Epidaurus would be Ἀριστρās in IG, IV, 1584, 82 (= IG, IV², 1, 102, 82) from about 400 B.C., for which Prellwitz (SGDI 3325) reads Ἀρίστρα[τος]. Although the latter cannot be the reading of the stone, the existence of many Doric names in unaccented -ās, e.g., Φιλίστās, genitive Φιλίστā, makes it impossible to follow Fränkel and von Gaertringen in accenting Ἀριστρās instead of the obviously correct Ἀρίστρās, since the name apparently occurs only here, and there is no reason for assuming the existence of a Doric name in -ās at such an early date. It is particularly noteworthy that also in the Laconian dialect-inscriptions names which could reasonably be taken to end in -ās are totally absent before the Alexandrian period, although it must be observed that a Laconian named Μηνās is mentioned in Thucydides v. 19. That this isolated example should really have existed at this early date is not credible, and we may suspect that some error lurks in the transmission. Probably the word should really be accented Μήνās, as is suggested by the reading Μίνας in a number of inferior manuscripts.

It is a safe conclusion that hypocoristics in -ās originated in the Ionic dialect and were confined to the same for a long time. On the other hand, the absence of appellatives and sobriquets from Ionic cannot be explained by the assumption (Thumb, *loc. cit.*) that the latter were later developments from the hypocoristic names. The rea-

² The association of Ἀλκās: ἄλκη, "prowess," with Βιάς Βίαντος: βίā, "might," "power," and Θάās Θόαντος: θόός, "swift in action," is so obvious as to make practically certain the identity of their declension.

son for this is that the Attic, which did not have the proper names before the Roman period, on the other hand shows examples of the appellatives even in Old Comedy (once in Aeschylus).

Aristophanes is the source for a congeneric group of bird names in *-ās*: *ἐλεās* (Av. 302) with dative *ἐλεᾷ* (*ibid.* 885), "marsh bird" (?); *ἐλεσās*, "driver" (: *ἐλαύνω*), in the dative *ἐλεσᾷ* (*ibid.* 886), *κατω-φαγās*, "glutton-bird" (*ibid.* 288); probably also the dative *βασκᾷ* (*ibid.* 885), of a kind of duck, although the manuscript reading is *βάσκα*. We find a word of wider circulation in *ἄτταγās*, "frankolin," perhaps named from its cry, which occurs for the first time in Hipponax (here *-ās* in Codd. Ath., evidently a borrowed word), and repeatedly in Aristophanes (*ἄτταγῆν* in Aristotle and the *κουνή*); in Hesychius, also, *ἰωνās· περιστερά*. The origin of this category is to be sought in the imitation of *πελεκās*,³ genitive *πελεκᾶντος*, "woodpecker" < **πελεκα-φεντ*-, an old possessive related to *πέλεκυς*, "ax," because the bill of the bird acts as a chopper or ax. It belonged to the same morphological category as *ἀλλās ἀλλᾶντος*, "sausage," and, e.g., *τετρās τετρᾶντος*, "coin worth four *χαλκοί*" < **τετρα-φεντ*-(⁴) (cf. Brugmann, *Gr.*, II, 1, 464). If this is the case, the earliest examples of the other bird names in *-ās* must at one time have had *ντ*-stems like *πελεκās*, a declension which gradually gave way to the later type as explained later. In this connection it is important that *ἄτταγās* affords no hint as to its declension before Herodian (ii. 657. 15), who states the genitive to be *ἄτταγᾶ*. It is, therefore, probable that at one time **ἄτταγᾶντος*⁵ was actually in use, and that it yielded to *ἄτταγᾶ* during some subsequent period. Naturally the very rare words like *ἐλεās* and *ἐλεσās* were the first to desert the rarer declension, so that their datives could end in *-ᾷ* even in Aristophanes.

The other early Attic examples of *-ās* designate persons, and are probably derived from the bird names. Thus *κατα-φαγās*, "ravenous

³ Alongside occurs *πελεκᾶν -ᾶνος*, "pelican" < **πελεκα-φων*, in the parallel IE possessive suffix *-ων*.

⁴ According to another view, *τετρās*, *τριās*, etc., are modeled after the Latin coin name *quadrāns quadrantis*, but that would imply borrowing of a suffix directly instead of through borrowed words ending in the suffix, the only established way of suffix-borrowing.

⁵ Note also the actually existing accusative *Μαρικᾶντα* from the sobriquet *Μαρικās* discussed later.

glutton," attested for Aeschylus, Myrsilus, and Menander, and condemned by Phrynichus and Pollux (vi. 40), is evidently merely a variation of the foregoing bird name *κατωφαγās* used figuratively. This could be used seriously by Aeschylus because he antedated the comic and vulgar use of the suffix as found in the comedians. In later times, when words in -*ās* were used in a way comparable to the application of the word "bird" to human beings in American slang, the serious poets could no longer use them. For comedy, on the other hand, this flavor was rather a commendation, and they began extending its use in the formation of words which suggest the two characteristics of birds most evident in comedy. Their propensity for continuous eating is referred to not only in *καταφαγās* already discussed but also in *φαγās*, "gluttonous bird" (Cratin.), which is applied only to a human being. The habit of birds to bespatter from above (cf., e.g., Aristoph. *Av.* 1117) is suggested by *χεσās*: *χέζω*, "cacare," which must have been in use at the time of Aristophanes because Pollux (v. 91) attests the fact that it was a sobriquet of one *Πατροκλείδης* satirized by the former. Other classical examples⁶ are *κορυζās*, "snivel-bird," "sniveler" (Menand.), and *ἐμβαδās*, "shoe-bird," "cobbler" (Theopomp. Com.). Whether, however, the original association with bird names was still present in the latter may well be doubted. In case of the figurative use of a suffix it would take only a single generation to efface consciousness of its origin, for the children learning such words would understand only their application, not their original sense. The vulgar feeling-tone, on the other hand, might continue indefinitely. Concerning *ἐμβαδās*, it may be said that it is the earliest instance of the use of a word in -*ās* to designate a man's occupation, although it has not yet become a permanent designation and is still used in derision. One more certain example of an early derisive epithet in -*ās* is *ἀργās* "lazy bird" (: *ἀργός*), contemptuously used of Demosthenes by Aeschines (ii. 99). Probably also the suffix of the barbarian (cf. Hesychius s.v.) *Μαρικās* (name of a play by Eupolis) owes its use to its being a contemptuous epithet, as though "lewd bird." In this case we find an interesting confirmation of the alleged association of these words with the bird name *πελεκās*

⁶ *Κορυās*, "Long-Beard" (Cratin., Arist.): *κόρυς*, "beard," would be an early example of an Attic sobriquet in -*ās* which became a permanent name, but it is certainly a later intrusion into the manuscripts, for Plato has *Κόρυς*, dative *Κόρυφ*, accusative *Κόρυον*, as expected.

-*âvros* in the fact that Eupolis uses the old accusative *Μαρικᾶντα*, although Aristophanes (*Nub.* 553) has *Μαρικᾶν*.

The inflection of these Attic bird names and sobriquets has been commented upon with respect to the original state of affairs and the fact that Aristophanes used two or three datives in -*â*, which are easily understood as an assimilation to the declension of the extremely common *νεανίās*, "young man," and proper names like *Καλλιās* and *Ἀρισταγόρās*, with their regular datives in -*α*. Thus *ἐλεās*: *ἐλεᾶ* = *νεανίās*: *νεανία*. On the other hand, the Doric genitives in -*â* are not found at all in the Attic of the classical age, where, with the exceptions of these few datives, words in -*ās* occur only in the nominative singular.⁷ Apparently the other cases were used so rarely that most speakers did not know how to form them. Only at a later stage, when the -*ā* of Doric genitives of proper names in -*ās* had become a general device to escape the strangely sounding Attic -*ov* in words in which *ā* was not preceded by *ε*, *ι*, or *ρ* (note, e.g., in Xenophon the genitive *Ὀρόντᾱ* from the Persian name *Ὀρόντās*), did one finally come to use the circumflexed -*â* by analogy to them. On the other hand, the original declension -*ās*, -*âvros*, itself only a stereotyped remnant, became impossible as soon as the category got a good start, because of the rareness of all the oblique cases of the sobriquets and their disassociation from the bird names.

Alongside of the Ionic hypocoristics and the Attic bird names and sobriquets in -*ās* there are a few scattered examples of still different origin which were completely disassociated from both. The Attic *βορρās*, "north wind," is an Attic development from *βορέās* over **βορεās* (see Brugmann-Thumb, p. 66). The Attic genitive, of course, was *βορροῦ* or, earlier, *βορέου*, whereas *βορρᾶ* and *βορέᾱ* (*Soph. Trach.* 113, in a choral ode) were due to Doric influence.

Different again is *Βακχās* (*Soph.*, frag. 674), a name given to Dionysus or Bacchus, which was patterned after the common and early Doric *Ἐρμās* = Attic *Ἐρμῆς*. The original form of the latter was not *Ἐρμέās* but **Ἐρμᾶās* (see Boisacq, p. 282), so that this also was an isolated case and did not lead to imitation, sharply distinguished as were names of gods and names of human beings.

It thus appears that the history of -*ās* is fairly clear on the Attic side, but the Ionic hypocoristics have not yet found their explanation.

⁷ See Kühner-Blass, I, 494.

The trouble lies in the fact that, e.g., Δημās looks as though it were a contraction of Δημέās, as was assumed by Dieterich (*loc. cit.*); but G. Meyer (*Gr. Gr.*³ 448) has pointed out that the Ionic contraction of Δημέās is Δημῆς, which is also found. However, Meyer's conclusion that these words were foreign importations meets with two difficulties. In the first place, the transmission has shown that hypocoristics in -ās were only Ionic in the earliest stages, and in the second place, there was no other dialect from which borrowing could be made plausible. It seems that the product of contraction of εā was η also in Doric, for εā certainly does thus contract, and εā does so at least in the Doric islands (cf. Buck, *Gr. Dial.*², p. 36). Why, on the other hand, the Doric Ἐρμās could not have been the pattern has appeared above. The only way out seems to be the assumption of an indirect Doric influence, that, e.g., Δημās was due to contamination of Ionic Δημῆς with a Doric Δημās.⁸ The fact that a number of the earliest occurrences of -ās were from Halicarnassus, where the displacing of the original Doric speech by Ionic afforded a good chance for dialect mixture, is a favoring circumstance for this point of view. However, the genitive in -ā cannot be explained by contamination of Doric -ā and an Ionic -ῆ which did not exist. Consequently, the earliest declension was -ās, -ādos, after the pattern -ās, -ādos (cf. examples given). Later, however, direct influence of the Doric or intermediate Doric influence through the κοινή caused the occasional appearance of a genitive in -ā, e.g., Ἡρā (SGDI 5417, 31) from Myconos in the Macedonian period. The earlier Διονυρά (ibid. 5515, 38) from Iasos may not have been rightly accented, and it is better, perhaps, to follow Bechtel's text in reading Διονύρā.

The difference in inflection between the Ionic hypocoristics in -ās and the Attic bird names and sobriquets is right in line with the divergent origin of the two classes. However, in view of the frequency with which analogical transfer between various declensional classes takes place, it is not to be expected that either of these two rather anomalous types should have maintained itself unchanged. Not only did the Ionic -ās, -ādos partly⁹ give way to -ās, -ā as the hypocoristics made

⁸ I am using Doric Δημās as a type word. Although it is not registered in Pape, there are many others of the same ending, e.g., Megarian Ἰχθῆās.

⁹ Ultimately the Ionic type with genitive in -ādos won out, for modern Greek words in -ās show the δ-inflection (in the plural).

their way to other parts of Greece, and fell under the influence of the Attic type, but also a few other varieties of inflection appeared. In Egypt the declension *-ās, -ātos* occurs beside the regular *-ās, -ā*, e.g., in *Λεοντᾶτος* (CIG, 4716 d22), genitive of *Λεοντᾶς*, or *Θεονᾶτος* (Hermes xxiv. 313): *Θεονᾶς*, a form which Thumb (*op. cit.*, p. 232) rightly explained as following the analogy of names like *Θαλῆς*, genitive *Θαλῆτος*. The same form occurs in the Rhodian genitive *Ἀπελλᾶτος* (SGDI 4244) from the first century B.C. Possibly also the Attic genitive in *-ου* was occasionally transferred to words in *-ās* from the type *Καλλίᾶς Καλλίου*, at least the *κοινή* inscription IG, V, 1, 121 from Laconia shows the form . . . ΛΑΠΙΟΤ, which is read *Ἀσκ]λᾶπου* and would be the genitive of *Ἀσκλᾶπᾶς*, the Doric *ā* being retained because of the conservatism of proper names.

The connecting link between the Attic and the Ionic types of words in *-ās* were the sobriquets or nicknames, which on the one hand could arise from the seriously used hypocoristics. Thus *Μικᾶς*, originally a short form of, e.g., *Μικ-ιππος* or *Μικίων*, would become like the English "Shorty" if the owner of the name happened to be of small stature; or if *Μικίων* itself had been used in this way, the derivative in *-ās* would naturally take over the meaning of the primitive. On the other hand, as has been shown, similar sobriquets were developed from the Attic bird names, e.g., *φαγᾶς*, "ravenous bird," "glutton." Naturally, as the Attic and Ionic influences met in the *κοινή* and penetrated the other Greek dialects, complete identification of the two suffixes resulted, and the entire *κοινή* used both hypocoristics and appellatives in greater and greater profusion. As a result of this mixture, the *κοινή* could use even the latter seriously, e.g., as the regular designation of a man's trade or profession. This particular nuance, however, did not attain to any proportions before the Christian Era. Then we find such examples as *πατικουρᾶς* (BGU 594, 3, first century A.D.), *ὀρνιθᾶς*, "dealer in poultry" (POxy. 1568, 1, third century A.D.); *ταπιτᾶς*, "maker or seller of carpets" (POxy. 1517, 3, A.D. 272 or 278); *πλακουντᾶς*, "maker of flatcakes," "baker" (POxy. 1495, 7, fourth century A.D.); *παστιλλᾶς*, "confectioner" (POxy. 1891, 2, A.D. 495); *ἀνθηλᾶς*, "flower merchant" (PLond. 387, 21, sixth or seventh century A.D.) (cf. B. Olsson, *Aegyptus*, VI, 247 ff.).

Evidence for the spreading of the proper names from Ionia to the rest of Greece begins in the Alexandrian period. Thus from Attica,

e.g., *Μητρās* (*IG*, II², 2332, 45, 183–82 B.C.), *Πρωτās* (*IG*, II², 1969, 15, A.D. 45–46; *ibid.*, 2001, 16, first century A.D.); from Boeotia, the genitive *Ζωσιμā* (*SGDI* 1124); from Megarian coin legends of the third century B.C., the genitives *Ἀπολλā* and *Ματρā* (*SGDI* 3088); from Epidaurus, the genitive *Σωσā* (*IG*, IV², 1, 28, 63, 146 B.C.); from Laconia, in *IG*, V, 1, 159 (Roman period): *Σερās*, *Εὐτυχās*, *Λεοντās*, *Ὀνησās*, *Ἐπικτās*; from Messene, in *IG*, V, 1, 1397 (A.D. 246): *Εἰσās*, *Εὐφρās*, *Εὐτυχās*, *Ζωσιμās*, *Πτελλās*; from Rhodes, the genitive *Ἀριστā* (in *SGDI* 4245, 147 ff.). It must be observed, however, that individual examples in the Doric dialects are often uncertain, since it may be doubtful whether a given word should not have been accented on the penult, e.g., *Ἀρίστā* is as probable as *Ἀριστā*.

The merging of the distinct Attic and Ionic types into one psychological group was essentially complete in the Alexandrian period, as is shown by the occurrence of sobriquets as well as of a large number of proper names in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, although it is clear that the real appellatives had scarcely developed much beyond their status in Attic before the Roman period (cf. Mayser, *Gram. d. griech. Pap.*, pp. 252 ff.).¹⁰ The details of this merging process escape our notice because of the vulgar nature of the Attic type, which prevented it from making its way into serious literature, so that the most important period for the study of this process yields no other evidence than the fragments of the Attic comedy, which are not sufficiently numerous for the study of a rare type and, even if they were so, could afford no clue as to the invasion of the non-Attic dialects.

It is possible, however, to observe an expansion in a few subgroups which originated even before the coming of the Ionic influence. Thus *ἔασās* and *χέσās* were certainly influenced somehow by the form of the aorist participle active, as is still clearer for *τρέσās* "coward," probably quoted from a comic poet by Eustathius (772. 12), which reminds one of the Homeric (Ξ 522) substantivized participle *ὁ τρέσας*, genitive *τρέσαντος*: *τρέω*, "tremble," "fear." A later example of the same type is the proper name *Ἐλευσās* in *IG*, II², 2124 (A.D. 190–200). Also *ἀρυσās*,¹¹ "ladle" (Insc. Delos, *SIG²*, 588, 97, second century B.C.): *ἀρύω*, "draw," belongs to the same type formally, but for the first time

¹⁰ Mayser, however, was wrong in declaring -ās to be of Doric-Aeolic origin rather than Attic-Ionic.

¹¹ Dittenberger reads *ἀρύσās* instead of *ἀρυσās*.

-ās has deserted its proper sphere of the designation of persons and is found in the name of an object.

The growth in Roman times of words designating a man's occupation has been observed. From then on their frequency increases until they become the regular means of expressing this idea in modern Greek. The further development of sobriquets in -ās is attested, e.g., by Ἀντίγονος Γονατᾶς, "Antigonus the Big-Kneed" (Polyb.); φακᾶς (Suid.), an epithet of Dioscorides ("διὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ὀψείως φακοῦς"); ψιλᾶς, "smoothchin" (Paus.), an epithet of Bacchus; τεθελᾶς, "granny-baby" (Schol. Aristoph.); πελλᾶς, "gray-bird," "old man" (Arcad.); ὑψᾶς, probably "upplish bird" (Arcad.); Byzantine τραχηλᾶς, "Bull-Neck," epithet of Constantine the Great; λαρυγγᾶς, "crier," "bawler": λάρυγξ, "throat"; κερατᾶς, "cuckold": κέρας.

Like all suffixes of a large sphere of usage, -ās occasionally suffers derailment from its ordinary uses, the origin of which can hardly be found in this instance because of the fragmentary nature of the earlier material. Thus it was apparently used to form an instrument noun in case of ἀρυσᾶς, but in this case the origin of the derailment is clear. Other sporadic uses¹² are more obscure, although the assimilation of foreign words to a Greek type which they suggested by their form, but not by their meaning, played a large part. Note, e.g., the plant names μασουχᾶς (Alex. Trall.) and ζαφρᾶς (Byz.), also παξαμᾶς, "bis-cuit" (Suid.), the Byzantine καμουχᾶς or χαμουχᾶς, "pannus Sericus," and, in Photius, οὐ μάλα κυκκά: τὸ μηδέν.

In the way of a summary it may be said that the two earliest characteristic uses of the suffix -ās grew up separately, without even etymological connection, in the Attic and Ionic dialects. In the Alexandrian period these two had been merged in one common stream in the κοινή, and in the Roman epoch its use was beginning to develop larger proportions. The later history of its expansion must be turned over to the special student of Byzantine and modern Greek.

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¹² I ignore the place names, which were apparently unknown before the Byzantine age. An earlier example would be Πλαταμιστᾶς (Paus. iii. 14. 8), "a place covered with plane trees" at Sparta, but the accentuation -ās comes from the editors, whereas the received reading is -ράς. In view of the late appearance of all other place names in -ās there is no probability that -τᾶς was found in the original text.

ILL WILL OF THE GODS IN GREEK AND LATIN POETRY

H. V. CANTER

THE comprehensive title chosen for this paper is used to cover, with the exception noted below, all references in classical poetry to divine ill will, variously referred to by commentators as the resentment, hatred, wrath, envy, or jealousy of the gods; that is, to the displeasure or ill will of the gods arising from human acts and attitudes of mind constituting offenses generically and technically designated as *ῥβρις*, from crimes and sinful deeds that call for retributive justice, or from sheer envy of human good fortune, happiness, superlative gifts, or pre-eminent endowments. Deeply fixed in Greek and Roman consciousness was the idea of the righteous resentment or indignation of the divine powers which might at any moment mercilessly punish an actual or even a meditated offense. This combined idea of displeasure and just retribution appears freely in the fields of history and biography, but with greatest frequency in poetry. Examples of ill will and ensuing punishment have in various places and in one connection or another been cited and interpreted by scholars, but no examination of the subject aiming at completeness has hitherto been attempted.

Punishment administered by an avenging power is, as will be shown in the course of this discussion, recognized as the function of practically all the gods. But especially is it the attribute of the goddess Nemesis (or her near equivalents)¹—a personification of the abstract *νέμεσις*

¹ A few examples of ill will and punishment ascribed to Nemesis and other divinities, together with a brief statement of genealogy, attributes, and cult, are found in Chr. Walz, *De Nemese Graecorum* (Tübingen, 1852), pp. 1-22. Excellent is the study by Hermann Posnansky, "Nemesis und Adrasteia," *Breslauer philolog. Abhandl.*, V, Heft 2 (1890), 1-184, with examples and a discussion of the relation of these figures to other divinities. For less extended treatments of ill will see K. Lehrs, "Vorstellung der Griechen über den Neid der Götter und die Ueberhebung," *Populäre Aufsätze aus dem Altertum*² (Leipzig, 1875), pp. 33-68; Ed. Tournier, *Némésis et la jalousie des dieux* (Paris, 1863), pp. 45-165; F. G. Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre* (Göttingen, 1857-63), III, 25-40; Leopold Schmidt, *Ethik der alten Griechen* (Berlin, 1882), I, 253-55; O. Rossbach, "Nemesis" in Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*; Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie* (Berlin, 1894), I, 535-39; Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. "Neme-

—which in general terms expresses a feeling of blame for and displeasure toward the violation of all that is conveyed by the word νόμος, that is, by the violation of moral and written law. At least from the time of Sophocles this conception of Nemesis became fixed—a kind of dogma that maintained itself for centuries—until the folk belief of the Romans, who were not keenly sensitive to the moral and religious feelings of the Greeks, made it practically identical with their more general idea of Fortuna.²

In the study in hand it is proposed: to bring together all instances of divine ill will in the field indicated, except in its most comprehensive aspect, that is, except in so far as through its exercise by a divinity the main action of an entire work is motivated—e.g., by Poseidon in the *Odyssey*, Aphrodite in the *Hippolytus*, and Juno in the *Aeneid*; to subject these examples to interpretation and classification, with comment sufficient to identify, where this seems necessary, both the offender and the specific nature of the offense; and finally to give a few details bearing on offense and punishment, such as the distribution of occurrences in the various types of poetry, the divinities involved, and the results of their ill will in terms of punishment inflicted, invoked, foretold, foreshadowed, warned against, or averted. For convenience and economy in arrangement examples of divine displeasure will be considered under three general classes.

I

Constituting by far the most numerous class are instances in which the ill will of a divinity falls, or apprehension is felt that it will fall, upon those who are guilty, or fear they will become guilty, of the offense of ὕβρις.³ This broad, general designation, as the many exam-

sis." Nemesis is frequently referred to under the name Adrasteia (lit., "the inescapable") and also Rhamnusia (i.e., *virgo*), from the town of Rhamnus in Attica, where she had a celebrated shrine. The two last-named divinities show minor differences from Nemesis, but for the purpose of this paper they may be regarded as exercising identical functions. See Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-79; Welcker, *loc. cit.*; Preller-Robert, *op. cit.*, I, 538 f.

² Cf. Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-56; and for the various meanings of Fortuna see H. V. Canter, "Fortuna in Latin Poetry," *Studies in Philology*, XIX (University of North Carolina, 1922), 64-82.

³ For ὕβρις there is no single word in English that yields full equivalence, the nearest on the whole being "insolence." In an ethical sense and in general terms it signifies the overstepping of boundaries which, according to the Greek view, are fixed between

ples cited below will show, covers on the part of the offender or near-offender a wide range of feelings and actions.⁴ To narrow the classification and make the offense more specific several subordinate headings are provided, although in numerous cases the offenses designated merge into others or consist of more than one heading. Note the following:

Boasting of all kinds, often involving impiety as well. Outstanding here is the proud boasting of the Argive champions before Thebes, with their presumptuous and insolent insignia. Capaneus, one of these, is perhaps the fittest example in all literature of the punishment of the proud. Eight instances of his offense and its consequences are noted in this study. Few passages, as do those referring to the vaunting Argives,⁵ foreshadow in such explicit and reiterated lan-

divine beings and mankind, or boundaries that protect the rights of men from intrusion by other men; cf. Butcher, *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius* (London, 1890), p. 107: "Insolence or *ὕβρις*, which has its root in want of reverence and want of self-knowledge, which is the expression of self-centered will recognizing no power outside itself, and knowing no law but its own impulses. . . . It is the spirit of blind self-reliance which does not respect eternal ordinances, which seeks to overpass the bounds set for mortality and ignores the conditions of existence. It is opposed to both *αἰδώς* and *σωφροσύνη*. In the sphere of religion it is manifested not only in the irreverent deed, but in the presumptuous word or thought—in a pride that is untempered by the sense of human frailty. In the sphere of human relations it shows itself in the arrogance of the Oriental monarch, in the shout of triumph over the fallen foe, in the contempt of the suppliant, in the disregard of others' rights and feelings." Comprehensive and singularly exact is also the definition of Leopold Schmidt (*op. cit.*, I, 253): "Ein solches Trachten nun, das selbstverständlich nicht die Äusserung eines blossen Irrtums ist, sondern in Gesinnung und Willen des sich auf sich stellenden Ich wurzelt, nannten sie [die Griechen] *Hybris*, gleichviel ob dasselbe als Frevel gegen die Götter, als Mangel an Ehrerbietung gegen Höherstehende oder Hilfsbedürftige, als Hinübergreifen in eine fremde Rechtssphäre, als Hinwegsetzen über Sitte und Gesetz oder als Versuch gegen die Naturbedingungen des Daseins anzukämpfen auftrat."

⁴ In comparatively few instances is the offense designated solely by the word *ὕβρις* (Aesch. *Eum.* 533; Pind. *Pyth.* ii. 28; Soph. *OT* 872; *Trach.* 280; Eur. *Suppl.* 495; *Anth. Gr.* v. 214), or by its nearly related *ὕβριστής* (Hes. *Theog.* 514), or *ὕβριξεν* (Aesch. *Prom.* 82; Soph. *Elec.* 790; Theoc. xxiii. 59). Occasionally these words are found (Pind. *Pyth.* viii. 12; Aesch. *Pers.* 821; *Sept.* 406, 502; *Ag.* 763-66; Eur. *Bacch.* 375, 516; *Phoen.* 180; *Hipp.* 474) supplemented by others that particularize the nature of *ὕβρις*. But more usual by far appears what we may call "constructive *ὕβρις*," i.e., the offense is revealed by the use of words that designate its special types.

⁵ Aesch. *Sept.* 387-406, 423-56, 465-85, 486-525, 526-67, 568-614, 634-71; Eur. *Phoen.* 180-84, 1172-86. Striking in these passages are the expressions used for boasting: *ὑπερφρον σῆμα*, *ὑπερκόμπους σαγαῖς*, *κόμπους δ' οὐ κατ' ἀνθρώπων φρόνει*, *ἄνδρα κομπάζοντα*, *κναιλόντα ἔπη*, *μεγάλα ἐπύχεται*, *μεγαλαγορίαν ὑπεράνωρα*, *τοσόνδ' ἐκόμπασε*, *κόμπων* . . . *κόμπαιζε*, *ὑπερανχα βάζουσιν*, *κομπάζεται*, *οὐ μὴν ἀκόμπαστος*, *ἀνοσίσις*

guage the punishment that comes from overweening boast. "Talking big" or using a "big tongue" in unrestrained, unbridled wise also constitutes boasting, e.g., by Capaneus in *Soph. Ant.* 119-40 (μεγάλης γλώσσης κόμπους); Ovid *Trist.* v. 3. 27-30; Hercules in Eur. *HF* 1242-44 (μέγα λέγων); Niobe in *Anth. Gr.* xvi. 132-34 (epigrams accompanying a Niobe group); Hor. *Od.* iv. 6. 1 f.; those unwarned by Nemesis' attribute, the bridle, *Anth. Gr.* xvi. 223 (ἀχάλινα λέγειν); a scorner of love: Herond. vi. 31-36 (μέζον μὲν ἢ γυνὴ γρύξω); Theoc. x. 17-21 (μὴ δὴ μέγα μυθεῖ); a warrior, Verg. *Aen.* x. 545-49 (*dixerit ille aliquid magnum*); lawyers of their fees, Juv. vii. 108-12 (*magna sonant*); Ausonius of a friendship, *Epist.* xxvii. 39-52 (*grande aliquod verbum*). To this form of boasting a closely related species is the use of light, reckless, presumptuous, or defiant speech; see Eur. *Suppl.* 494-99; *Med.* 625 f.; *Anth. Gr.* vii. 630; Ovid *Fast.* v. 537-44; Stat. *Theb.* x. 827-936; Sen. *HO* 1709. To be added also as an essential equivalent of boasting is the exercise of misplaced or excessive ambition (Bellerophon, Dolon, Phaethon, Caesar, Pompey, Crassus, Alaric) as in Pind. *Isth.* vii. 42-48; *Anth. Gr.* vii. 683; Hor. *Od.* iv. 11. 21-31; Ovid *Trist.* iii. 4. 27-30; Juv. x. 108-11; Claud. *De vi cons. Hon.* 184-92.

Miscellaneous sources and objects of boasting are many, as a warrior's exploits (Rhesus), Eur. *Rhes.* 467-73; independence of divine aid (Ajax, Phaeacians): Hom. *Od.* iv. 499-510, viii. 564-71 (xiii. 143-64); *Soph. Aj.* 758-77; Quint. Smyr. xiv. 419-589; defiance of the gods (Prometheus, Typho): Aesch. *Prom.* 353-67, 907-1029; Non. *Dionys.* i. 475-81; paternal wealth, Bacchyl. 38 (x). 40-120; wealthy lovers, *Anth. Gr.* vi. 283; wealth and lineage, Eur. frag. 1040 (Nauck²); personal beauty, *Anth. Gr.* v. 56; imperial honors, Aus. *Epist.* xxii. 80-93; beauty of a daughter (Cassiopeia), *Anth. Gr.* xvi. 147; beauty of her children (Niobe): *Anth. Gr.* vii. 549, xvi. 131; Juv. vi. 172-77; Ovid *Met.* vi. 148-312; Pent. *De fort.* 27 f. (*Anth. Lat.*, I, 192 [Buech-Riese], 1894); skills of various kinds, e.g., in song (Thamyris), Hom.

κομπάσασιν. μεγάλα μεγαληγόνων ἀνοσίων ἀνδρῶν. ἀνοσίοισι θρασυστόμοισιν ἀνδράσιν. παῖδνα ἐπεξιαχάσας. Note also words of boast and impiety in the account of Persia's attempted conquest of Greece (Aesch. *Pers.* 739-831): ἔβρεως ἄποινα κ' ἀθίων φρονιμάτων; ὑπέρφεν φρονεῖν; ὑπερκόμπω θράσει. For other instances of Persia's boasted power see Aesch. *ibid.* 87-114, and *Anth. Gr.* xvi. 221, 222, and 263—epigrams on a statue of Nemesis, which, according to a tradition persistent but devoid of historical basis, was carved from a block of stone brought by the Persians to be used for a trophy. The same legend is preserved in Aus. *Epist.* xxvii. 53-57; *Epigr.* xlii.

Il. ii. 594-600; in seafaring, *Anth. Gr.* xi. 336; as a hunter (Actaeon, Agamemnon): *Cypria* 1; *Soph. Elec.* 563-72; *Eur. Bacch.* 337-42. Add *Hym. Hom.* v. 286-90; *Theoc.* i. 95-142. In other instances, while no actually boastful language is uttered, the speaker senses that a boastful meaning may be imputed to his words, and therefore uses some formula to excuse the offense or to avert punishment for it, e.g., Pindar confidently anticipating continued honor with song, *Isth.* vii. 39-41; Clytemnestra when praising Achilles, *Eur. Iph. Aul.* 977-80. See also *Arist. Pax* 1185-90; *Plut.* 346 f., 112-16, 404 f.; *Men. Perikeir.* 182-84; *Verg. Ecl.* vii. 25-28; *Sen. HF* 265-67; *Stat. Silv.* iii. 5. 1-10; *Aus. Dom.* v. 45-48.

A second count under *ὑβρις* rests upon the display of pride and arrogance,⁶ as in the tyrant's sway, *Sen. HF* 384-95; imperial power, *Sen. Tr.* 1-28, 250-70; onward march of the conqueror, *Claud. Bell. Goth.* 623-38; personal valor, *Apoll. Rhod.* i. 462-84; high office, *Juv.* x. 36-42; good fortune, *Pind. Olym.* viii. 81-88; misfortune of another, *Anth. Gr.* xii. 33; personal appearance: *ibid.* xii. 229; *Babr.* xliii. 1-15; arrogance toward Demeter, *Callim. Hymn.* vi. 46-115; toward a competitor in the chariot race, *Non. Dionys.* xxxvii. 404-23. Add *Theog.* 151 f.; *Soph. OT* 837-79; *Eur. Heracl.* 385-87; *Hipp.* 437-75; *Apoll. Rhod.* ii. 469-83.

A third form of *ὑβρις*, with many examples, is the lack of deference, respect, or reverence for a divinity. This is manifested in many ways, as in challenge to a contest of skill (Arachne, Eurytus, Marsyas, Misenus, Pierides, Thamyris): *Hom. Od.* viii. 226-28; *Anth. Gr.* vii. 696; *Verg. Aen.* vi. 162-74; *Ovid Met.* v. 302-31 (662-78), vi. 2-138, 382-400; *Fast.* vi. 703-8; *Stat. Theb.* iv. 182-86; personal affront (notably by Aure, Ixion, Lycaon, Pentheus, Tityus): *Pind. Pyth.* ii. 21-30; *Eur. Bacch.* 223-363, 370-401, 461-518; *Hor. Od.* iv. 6. 2; *Ovid Met.* i. 218-39, v. 446-61, vi. 339-81; *Non. Dionys.* xlviii. 351-463; rebellion and impious deeds (Giants, inhabitants of Tartarus): *Pind. Pyth.* i. 13-20, viii. 8-18; *Hes. Theog.* 514-16; *Apoll. Rhod.* i. 481-84; *Verg. Aen.* vi. 580-627; *Hor. Od.* iii. 4. 42-80; undertakings forbidden

⁶ This kind of offense also is frequently described in vigorous language: οὐ σμικρὸν φρονῶν. φρονιμάτων ὑπερφρόνων. περισσὸν καὶ φρονούντα μέγα. ὑποβλέπειν χαλεπῶς. ἄγαν αὐχεῖν. μὴ γὰρ αὖ φρυάσσου. ἀγνωρίῃ νεότητος. τοῖον ἀγῆνορα μῦθον. "dominare tumidus, spiritus altos gere"; "sequitur superbos ultor deus"; "quicumque magna potens dominatur aula"; "tumidos nimium ac feroces"; "superbus altius memet tuli."

to man (Argonauts, Daedalus, Hercules, Prometheus): Verg. *Ecl.* vi. 42; Hor. *Od.* i. 3. 25-40; Ovid *AA* ii. 37 f.; Sen. *Med.* 607-69; assumption of a divine prerogative (Asclepius, Ocyrrhoë, Phineus, Tantalus): Pind. *Olym.* i. 54-64, iii. 54-60; Apoll. Rhod. ii. 178-93; Ovid *Met.* ii. 635-75; *Fast.* vi. 746-60; Val. Flac. iv. 473-82; scorn, violation, or profanation of sacred rites or offerings (Laocoön, Orpheus, Pentheus): Theoc. xxvi. 10-38; Verg. *Aen.* ii. 199-231; *Geor.* iv. 507-22; Tib. ii. 6. 23 f.; Ovid *Met.* iii. 513-75 (692-731), xi. 1-43; violation of persons or objects under the care of a divinity (Ajax, Calchas, Cyzicus, company of Odysseus): Hom. *Od.* xii. 377-88; Aesch. *Ag.* 126-53; Verg. *Aen.* i. 39-45; Ovid *Met.* viii. 739-842; Val. Flac. iii. 20-224; violation of the proper relation between divine and human beings, e.g., intrusion upon a divinity (Actaeon, Aristaeus, Cadmus): Verg. *Geor.* iv. 453-63; Ovid *Met.* iii. 172-250; *Trist.* ii. 1. 105-8; Sen. *Oed.* 709-63; request for what is not meet for mortals (Phaethon, Semele, Tantalus): *Nost.* 6; Ovid *Met.* ii. 54-102 (306-28), iii. 292-309; rivalry in love (Iasion, Orion), Hom. *Od.* v. 118-29; revealing the secrets of the gods (notably by Ascalaphus, Tantalus): Tib. i. 2. 34-40; Ovid *Am.* ii. 2. 41-46; *AA* ii. 604-6; *Met.* v. 533-52.

Other illustrations of the lack of proper regard for a divinity are seen in the exercise of bad faith or treachery (Attis, Battus, Coronis, Cycnus, Glaucus, Laomedon, Pentheus, Tarpeia): Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 8-37; Hes. *Theog.* 521-69; *Shield of Herc.* 472-80; Alc. 122 ("Loeb Class. Libr."); Hor. *Od.* iii. 3. 18-24; Prop. iv. 4. 17 f. (85-92); Ovid *Met.* ii. 685-706, xi. 199-215; *Fast.* iv. 223-44; Juv. xiii. 199-208; Val. Flac. ii. 470-84; withholding of due honors (Agamemnon, Laodamia, Oeneus, women of Lesbos, sons of Phoroneus): Hom. *Il.* ix. 533-42; Bacchyl. 33 (v). 94-100; Theoc. xxv. 199-203; Apoll. Rhod. i. 609-19; Catull. lxxviii. 73-86; Ovid *Met.* viii. 271-83; *Her.* xix (xx). 95-107; invidious comparisons (notably by Cassiopeia, Chione, Midas, Niobe): Hom. *Il.* xxiv. 605-9; Prop. ii. 28. 9-14; Ovid *Am.* ii. 1. 17-20, iii. 2. 59 f., iii. 3. 17 f.; *Met.* iv. 607 f., xi. 153-79, 318-27; want of appreciation for the blessings, gifts, plans, or will of the gods: Hom. *Il.* vii. 446-63 (xii. 3-33); Aesch. *Prom.* 7-113 (550-53); Soph. *OC* 1751-53; Quint. Smyr. xiv. 632-55; Catull. lxxvi. 69-78; Ovid *Am.* iii. 9. 35-39; violation of the claims of the gods over the dead: as in the refusal of burial rites to Hector by Achilles, Hom. *Il.* xxii. 337-60; to Polyneices

by Creon, Soph. *Ant.* 1348-52, and to the Argives by the Thebans, Eur. *Suppl.* 306-31; in disrespect to the dead or profanation of their tombs: Hom. *Il.* xxiv. 44-54;⁷ Aesch. *Elec.* 788-94, frag. 266; *Epigr. Graec.* 119 and 367 (Kaibel).

A fourth species of *ὑβρις* is the rejection of love and love's claims, or the manifestation of pleasure in its sufferings. Examples, frequent in literature following Alexandrian times, are confined practically to erotic composition.⁸ The offense of *ὑβρις* is incurred also by the lack of respect or consideration for the normal rights of others, as of parents: Soph. *Elec.* 773-93; Pseudo-Verg. *Ciris* 224-48, 237-40; the suppliant: Hom. *Od.* xi. 69-73; Apoll. Rhod. iv. 1042-52; the stranger, Ovid *Met.* viii. 688-97; the helpless and the unfortunate: Soph. *Phil.* 508-15, 598-602; Ovid *Trist.* v. 8. 3-9; a reasonable request of a friend, Catull. 1. 18-21; in detraction from another's merits, *Anth. Gr.* xii.

⁷ See a discussion of this passage by Bassett, "Achilles' Treatment of Hector's Body," *TAPA*, LXIV (1933), 41-65. On pp. 41 and 60 he says that it was Achilles' persistence in outraging Hector's body that caused an impasse which required divine intervention. A fair inference from this statement (Bassett is defending Achilles against the charge of unknighly conduct) is that divine intervention was caused by Achilles' continued violation of a knight's code of honor. Such a conclusion ignores, at least it passes over, Achilles' real offense—the persistent violation of the rights of the gods over the dead. The same may be said of Achilles' refusal of Hector's request (Hom. *Il.* xxii. 337-60) that his body be given back for burial, which Bassett likewise (pp. 46 and 52) considers as a mere violation of the heroic code of honor. Bassett elsewhere ("Hector's Last Words, *Iliad* xxii. 358-60," *Class. Jour.*, XXIX [1933], 133-35) argues that Hector's words are not truly prophetic of Achilles' death for refusing to permit Hector's burial, since Achilles finally gives back Hector's body and still suffers the fate which Hector mentions. But, even if already prophesied, confirmation of Achilles' impending death is found in the words which the poet puts into the mouth of Hector, and justification as well, since a meditated course of action contrary to divine will brings punishment hardly less surely than one carried into execution. There is little in situation or text to recommend Bassett's interpretation by which Hector's words become a mere warning to Achilles of a possible similar ill treatment of the latter's body on the day of his death.

⁸ See Theoc. xxii. 1-63; *Anth. Gr.* v. 214, 280, 298, 300, xii. 12, 160, 193, xvi. 251; Non. *Dionys.* xv. 169-385; Verg. *Aen.* vii. 189-91; Hor. *Od.* iii. 10. 9-20, 11. 7-12 (25-32), 26. 9-12; Tib. i. 2. 87-94, i. 8. 7 f., 67-78; Prop. i. 7. 25 f., 9. 1-4; Ovid *Met.* iii. 351-510, xiv. 372-415, 641-94, 698-758. In Tibullus ii. 6. 27 f. Nemesis, the heroine of the poet's second book of elegies, is warned not to be unyielding in love. Posnansky (*op. cit.*, p. 52) understands that Tibullus gave her this name because she was avaricious and fickle and tortured him by her infidelities—surely a dubious compliment. But Nemesis typifies the idea of retaliation; for the more convincing explanation see Smith, *Elegies of Tibullus* (1913), *Introd.*, p. 54; "Tibullus' object in choosing the girl [as his heroine] was to 'get even' with Delia [his first and faithless love], and in christening her Nemesis, he meant to indicate that in his case she was the mortal instrument of the great goddess of balance and of even-handed justice."

140, 141; in the exercise of bad faith or treachery: Soph. *Trach.* 269–80; Tib. i. 9. 1–20; Prop. ii. 16. 47–54; in violation of the rights of marriage, Eur. *Orest.* 1361–65. Properly considered here is Aesch. *Ag.* 699–781, in which the chorus refers to violated rights, injustice, sin, and pride as seen in the conduct of Paris and Helen, in the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and in Agamemnon's proud course as leader of the Greek host.⁹ Also a count in the offense of ὕβρις is the violation of right measure or proportion. Instances of violation and punishment, however, are surprisingly few. Aesch. *Niobe*, frag. 159 (Nauck²), seems to be a clear case. In two epigrams also—a facetious one on a certain Gessius who aspired to honors beyond his powers (*Anth. Gr.* vii. 683) and another on an arrogant lover (*ibid.* v. 299)—there is mention of punishment for violation of μηδὲν ἄγαν.¹⁰ In another (*ibid.* xvi. 354) violation is avoided by honoring a charioteer with a fitting bronze statue instead of with a gold one, while in three other epigrams (accompanying statues of Nemesis) punishment is warned against by the words μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον (*ibid.* xii. 193, xvi. 224) and μήτ' ἀμετρὸν τι ποιεῖν (*ibid.* xvi. 223).

Finally to be studied as offenses involving ὕβρις—mostly cases of

⁹ A passage of particular interest. In vss. 750–72 Aeschylus definitely rejects the old popular Greek notion of φθόνος (reflected in Herodotus more than in any other Greek author [i. 34, iii. 40–43, vii. 10, vii. 46]) that mere prosperity, wealth, or happiness rouses the envy of the gods and brings punishment. It is caused, he says, by injustice, sin, and impiety, by insolence which begets insolence that ever sprouts anew. A few examples of this popular creed appear in Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides (see § III below), and that it long persisted is evident from the protests against it by Plato (*Phaedrus* 247A), Aristotle (*Met.* i. 2. 983a), and Plutarch (*Mor.* 1102D). Incorrect is the statement of Prickard (Aesch. *Pers.* 94 [ed. 1893]) that it “belongs to Aeschylus’ earlier creed” (of which there is no evidence in the surviving plays), as is also that of Sidgwick (*Pers.* 362 [ed. 1903]) that the “jealous displeasure of the gods against excessive wealth or prosperity of man is common in Aeschylus.” On the contrary, Aeschylus sought to correct and enlighten this belief. With him reversal of fortune proceeds, not from jealous and capricious powers, but from a supreme ruler of the universe, and punishment is a symbol of the victory of moral law over passion. Lehrs (*op. cit.*, pp. 35–40) confuses envy of the gods and ὕβρις as a cause of punishment. Posnansky (*op. cit.*, pp. 46–48) believes that the conception of the goddess of punishment (Nemesis) as a severe but just avenger of ὕβρις was originally the only valid one, and that the later idea of her as an envious and capricious power marks a distortion and deterioration of the original one. It is more probable that in popular consciousness there existed from the first, and remained below the surface through all periods of Greek history, the idea that the gods were jealous of men, in whom they saw an aggressive and dangerous rival.

¹⁰ For an exhaustive study of this maxim see Eliza G. Wilkins, “Μηδὲν ἄγαν in Greek and Latin Literature,” *Class. Phil.*, XXI (1926), 132–48; also her *Delphic Maxims in Literature* (University of Chicago Press, 1929), pp. 19–48.

boast and pride—are those in which divine displeasure is expressed by some form of *φθονέιν*, *φθονερός*, *φθόνος θεῶν*, or *invidia deorum*. These require careful scrutiny. A close examination of the context shows, despite the phraseology used, that these passages do not exemplify, as editors sometimes interpret them, “envy of the gods,” provoked on account of success, prosperity, or good fortune. It is the boastful pride of the Persians (Aesch. *Pers.* 87–114) that arouses the *ἀλάστωρ ἢ κακὸς δαίμων*, the *θεῶν φθόνος*, and brings destruction upon Xerxes and the invading host (*Pers.* 354–514). Sins of injustice and cruelty, the wrong done by Paris, the deaths caused by Agamemnon, sacker of cities, and pride that follows the warrior’s fame—these things, say the chorus, are not disregarded by the gods nor do they bring happiness unmarred by divine anger, *ἄφθονον ὄλβον* (Aesch. *Ag.* 361–471). It is the excessive display of joy and pride (tantamount to boasting) that Clytemnestra pretends to feel on Agamemnon’s return which causes her attempt to avert divine ill will by the words *φθόνος δ’ ἀπέστω* (*ibid.* 895–905). Punishment for pride in an honor recognized as unmeet for mortals is what Agamemnon fears as he shrinks from treading upon the “tapestries sea-purpled,” *μηδ’ εἵμασι στρώσας ἐπίφθονον πόρον τίθει* (*ibid.* 914–57). To avert change at the hands of the gods who may be offended at pride in good fortune by father and son, Pindar embodies a prayer, *μὴ φθονεραῖς ἐκ θεῶν μετατροπῆαις ἐπικύρσαιεν* (*Pyth.* x. 17–21). Although Aegisthus seeks to escape the consequence of arrogant speech over the body of the (supposedly dead) Orestes, he asserts that Orestes was laid low by heaven’s displeasure (*ἄνευ φθόνου μὲν οὐ πεπτωκός*), meaning that he was punished for lack of respect for his parent (Soph. *Elec.* 1458–67). Theseus’ assertion that he will by might redeem the Argive dead approaches boasting, but his act as avenger of wrong will not, he says, be attended by divine ill will, *τὸδ’ ἔσται κούχι σὺν φθόνῳ θεῶν* (Eur. *Suppl.* 339–48). The chorus, singing in welcome to Rhesus and in joyful anticipation of victory, address a propitiatory phrase to the goddess of vengeance, to restrain their lips from boastful speech, *εἴργοι στομάτων φθόνον* (Eur. *Rhes.* 342–49), while, following this same warrior’s boast, they invoke Zeus to defend him from the unconquerable wrath of the gods, *φθόνον ἄμαχον ὑπατος . . . Ζεὺς θέλοι ἀμφὶ σοῖς λόγοισιν εἶργειν* (*ibid.* 443–58). Finally, the wild sorrow of Alcmene for Hercules emboldens her to

give way to excessive grief and so defy the displeasure of the gods (Sen. *HO* 1861 f.): *invidiam ut deis lugendo facias, advoca in planctus genus.*

II

In the examples brought together here the ill will of the gods is visited upon those who have offended by the commission of crimes of violence that call for divine retribution, as the murder of Clytemnestra by Orestes: Aesch. *Eum.* 299-396, 490-565; Eur. *Orest.* 28-38, 255-347; *Elec.* 1238-54; of Antigone, sent by Creon to a living death, Soph. *Ant.* 1064-79; of Priam, Pind. *Paeon* vi. 111-21; of one unnamed, *Anth. Gr.* vii. 358. Notable are two instances of human sacrifice—Iphigenia (Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 1080-97) and Polyxena (Eur. *Hec.* 282-90)—in which divine wrath is designated as *φθόνος θεῶν*—a rare usage. In Aesch. *Eum.* 916-37 Athena says it is the sins of the forefathers (the crimes of Orestes' parents) that make the descendants (here Orestes) victims of the Furies.

III

In this final class of examples envy (*φθόνος*, *φθονεῖν*, *ἄγεσθαι*, *livor*, *invidia*, *invidere*) is represented as a jealous, purely malicious cause of divine displeasure, punishing good fortune, superlative gifts, and ideally happy conditions of all kinds. That is, the gods begrudge men a splendor, a happiness that may pale their own splendor, may equal their own happiness, e.g., the friendship between Menelaus and Odysseus, Hom. *Od.* iv. 169-82;¹¹ Jason and Cyzicus, Val. Flac. ii. 303-8; Ausonius and Paulinus, Aus. *Epist.* xxvii. 58-66, 104-9; wedded bliss of Penelope and Odysseus, Hom. *Od.* xxiii. 209-12;¹¹ possession of Hercules' bow, Soph. *Phil.* 774-78; a peerless wife, Stat. *Silv.* v. 1. 137-46; Admetus in regaining Alcestis, Eur. *Alc.* 1129-35; wealth and good fortune, *Anth. Gr.* ix. 103, 146, 153, 256, x. 123; slender but sole means, *ibid.* ix. 149; gifts, graces, and merits: *ibid.* viii. 126, 128, ix.

¹¹ It is impossible to interpret these passages other than as illustrations of divine envy unless one reads into them something that is not there (*εἰς*), or reads out of them something that is there. One must do the latter if he agrees with J. A. K. Thomson, *Studies in the Odyssey* (Oxford, 1914), who (p. 14) speaks of "the absence in Homer of all apparent traces of that belief in the 'jealousy of the gods' [*φθόνος τῶν θεῶν*]." Starting from this false premise, Thomson (despite, or because of, his discovery [p. 12] of jealousy as a real agency in the movement of the plot) concludes (p. 13) that "there has been conscious or unconscious expurgation of this primitive doctrine inherent . . . in the earlier forms of the traditions."

405; Stat. *Silv.* ii. 1. 120-38, 6. 68-79; dower of beauty, *Anth. Gr.* ix. 260; Corinna's parrot (in a mock *consolatio*), Ovid *Am.* ii. 6. 17-25. Add Arist. *Plut.* 87-92; *Anth. Gr.* vii. 361, viii. 121, ix. 260; Prop. i. 12. 7-12; Stat. *Silv.* iv. 8. 14-17; Claud. *Carm. Min.* xi. Of special interest is Claud. *De rapt. Pros.* iii. 20-23, in which Zeus disavows for himself and the other gods envy as a motive in replacing the people of Saturn's age, with its ease, plenty, and security, by a new and more vigorous stock. The disclaimer doubtless points to one version of the legend to the effect that the blissful, fortunate race was annihilated because the gods were envious of it.

As a conclusion to this study, based on nearly three hundred examples, a few details are added in regard to offense and punishment. The question of divine ill will and its consequence is less prominent in Latin than in Greek poetry, corresponding in this to the less reflective and imaginative character of the former. Owing to the strong moral and religious teachings of tragedy, especially of Greek tragedy, occurrences there are numerous (seventy), as they are also relatively frequent in Greek epigram, epic, and lyric. They are practically wanting everywhere in comedy, in which boasting, bragging, caricature, and irreverence have free course, without ever a thought of offense or punishment. Latin epic and lyric do not reveal many occurrences, epigram (in Martial) not a single example. Latin elegiac poetry, in which mythology ordinarily is either merely allusive or is not treated in a serious vein, does not often touch upon divine ill will and its penalty. The opposite result obtains in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. Here the poet shows little conception of what inspires a feeling of awe or demands reverence for the gods, who move on a low moral plane and exercise their power freely to avenge a slight to their dignity. The story of ill will and punishment varies greatly in length and details, ranging from a verse or two to (occasionally) more than a hundred. Not infrequently, either because knowledge of the myth could be safely assumed by the poet or because details did not harmonize with the artistic purpose in hand, only a hint is given of the offense¹² or even of both offense and punishment.¹³ The story in not a few in-

¹² E.g., the killing of a stag sacred to Artemis, Aesch. *Ag.* 133-38; the treachery of Laomedon to Poseidon, Val. Flac. ii. 437 f.

¹³ The stealing of fire by Prometheus, Verg. *Ecl.* vi. 42; the defiant boast of Capaneus, Ovid *Trist.* v. 3. 27-30.

stances (thirty-four) is told in the form of a paradigm,¹⁴ used to support the statement of a moral principle, or a statement which in itself tells of offense given to a divinity and the resulting punishment.

Of the divinities concerned, apart from the fifty-two cases in which a general designation is used—such as δαίμων, θεός, ἀθάνατος, deus, divus, numen—more than thirty agents of divine ill will are mentioned, those most frequently being Zeus (Jupiter), some fifty instances; Nemesis, thirty-eight; Adrasteia, eleven; Rhamnusia, eleven; Artemis (Diana), seventeen; Apollo (Phoebus), twelve; Cypris (Aphrodite, Venus), twelve; Poseidon, seven. In over 60 per cent of the examples studied, punishment either follows the particular instance of an offense related or is said to follow such-and-such offenses as a regular consequence.¹⁵ The moral lesson that chastisement follows offenses that provoke the ill will of the gods is scarcely less impressively and effectively taught in the remaining examples, in which punishment is either invoked,¹⁶ foretold,¹⁷ foreshadowed,¹⁸ or warned against,¹⁹ or in which the offender or near-offender (occasionally some one for him) seeks to escape ill will for an offense, or to avert punishment for it.²⁰

¹⁴ Many of these are discussed by H. V. Canter, "The Mythological Paradigm in Greek and Latin Poetry," *Amer. Jour. Phil.*, LIV, 201-24.

¹⁵ Good illustrations are found in Aesch. *Eum.* 299-320, 553-65; Soph. *OT* 873-79; Eur. *Heracl.* 385-88; *Hipp.* 443-46.

¹⁶ E.g., upon the champions of Argos: Aesch. *Sept.* 483-85; 550-52; Eur. *Phoen.* 182-84; upon Clytemnestra by Electra, Soph. *Elec.* 794: ἀκούε, Νέμεσι, τοῦ θανόντος ἀπρίως.

¹⁷ See Eur. *Bacch.* 516 f., where Dionysus says to Pentheus: 'Ατὰρ τοι τῶνδ' ἄποιν' ὕβρισμάτων μέτεσι Διόνυσός σ' ὃν οὐκ εἶναι λέγεις. See also Teiresias' words to Creon in Soph. *Ant.* 1064-79; Castor's to Orestes, Eur. *Elec.* 1238-53.

¹⁸ Cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 444 f., where it is said of Capaneus: πέποιθα δ' αὐτῷ ξὺν δίκῃ τὸν πυρφόρον ἥξειν κεραυνόν.

¹⁹ Numerous instances, of which it is sufficient to cite Hom. *Od.* xi. 69-73 (the words of Elpenor's ghost to Odysseus): μή μ' ἄκλαντον ἄθραπτον ἰὼν ὀπισθεν καταλείπειν . . . μή τοι τι θεῶν μῆνιμα γένηται.

²⁰ E.g., through prayer by the chorus in behalf of the Greek host, Aesch. *Ag.* 131-33: μή τις ἄγα θεῶν κνεφάσῃ προτυπὲν στόμιον μέγα Τροίας στρατωθέν. Also by Pindar for a victor's family, *Olym.* viii. 86: εὐχομαι ἀμφὶ καλῶν μοίρα Νέμεσιν διχόβουλον μὴ θέμεν. See also Aus. *Epist.* xxii. 85: "absistat Nemesis, ferat et fortuna iocantem"; Pseudo-Verg. *Ciris* 228: "quod ut o potius, Rhamnusia, fallar!" *Ciris* 237-40 is exceptional in that (probably through some misunderstanding) power is ascribed to Adrasteia to ward off an impious deed, not to condone it, "quod non sinat Adrastea." Other examples of prayers used to escape or avert punishment are: Aesch. *Ag.* 946 f.; Pind. *Pyth.* x. 20;

Occasionally the lesson is taught negatively, i.e., by the commendation of those who are guiltless of a named offense and hence incur no ill will on that score.²¹

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Isth. vii. 39; *Eur. Bacch.* 360-63; *Rhes.* 455-58; *Alc.* 1135; *Anth. Gr.* ix. 405; *Aus. Epist.* xxvii. 60.

Another means frequently used is the apologetic or propitiatory phrase—see such examples as *Eur. Med.* 625 f.: *σὺν θεῷ δ' εἰρήσεται*. *Rhes.* 468: *σὺν δ' Ἀδράστειά λέγω*. *Herond.* vi. 35: *λάθοιμι δ' Ἀδρήστεια*. *Arist. Pax* 1187: *ἦν θεὸς θέλῃ*. *Catull.* lxiv. 71: "pace tua fari hic liceat, Rhamnusia virgo." In *Soph. Elec.* 1467 Aegisthus, seeking to avert the penalty for arrogant speech by retracting his words, says: *εἰ δ' ἔπεισι νέμεσις, οὐ λέγω*. An act of homage is occasionally used to avert ill will, hence the chorus says in *Aesch. Prom.* 936: *οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τὴν Ἀδράστειαν σοφοί*. Philoctetes in handing over the coveted bow of Hercules advises a propitiation (doubtless by some gesture) of the envy of the gods, *τὸν φθόνον πρόσκυσον*. The penalty for excessive praise (*ἄγαν αἰνεῖν*) is carefully weighed by Clytemnestra in addressing Achilles (*Eur. Iph. Aul.* 977-80), while again its aversion is sought by atropaic rite (*Verg. Ecl.* vii. 27 f.). The praetor who heads the *pompa circensis*, to avoid punishment for his pride (*sibi ne placeat*), has a slave ride with him in the same chariot (*Juv. x.* 36-42). Spitting upon the breast was also a means of averting punishment; see *Callim.*, frag. 235 (*Schneider*, II, 477); also *Juv.* vii. 108-12, where this is done by the lawyers who, boasting of their big fees, would thus escape the punishment of changed fortune. This example is clear cut and certain, although pronounced "doubtful" by Nicolson ("The Saliva Superstition in Classical Literature," *Harvard Studies*, VIII [1897], 38). There is, however, nothing casual here in the reference to spitting. Sudden transitions and change of subject are characteristic of satire and wholly in harmony with Juvenal's manner of expression.

²¹ The family of Xenophon of Corinth is pronounced free from pride, *Pind. Olym.* xiii. 6-12; the Hyperboreans reverence the gods, *Pind. Pyth.* x. 31-34; Odysseus is saved from boast and pride when warned by Athena, *Soph. Aj.* 127-33; Thebes remains unconquered, say the chorus, because it has ever honored the gods, *Aesch. Sept.* 233-35.

Q. MARCIUS REX AT ANTIOCH

GLANVILLE DOWNEY

MALALAS' account of the visit of Q. Marcius Rex to Antioch has received the attention of several scholars, but it seems possible to clarify the account still further, and to explain the work in Antioch which Malalas attributes to him in a more satisfactory way than has hitherto been proposed. Malalas mentions this visit in his account of the visit of Agrippa to the city in 15 B.C.¹ Here he says (p. 225, ll. 4-11 [ed. Bonn])² that Agrippa ἐξεχόισεν τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἵππικοῦ τὰ χῶματα, ἅπερ εἶχεν ἐκ τῶν πρῶν φόβων· καὶ ἐθεώρησε τὴν πολύτροπον θέαν ὃ αὐτὸς καὶ θανμάσας ἐξῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν. Ἐκτίσε δὲ πρῶν τὸ αὐτὸ παλαιὸν ἵππικὸν καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν παλάτιον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Κόιντος [δὲ] Μαρκιανὸς ῥῆξ Ῥωμαίων, κατελθὼν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Βαρύπουν τὸν Μακεδόνα τὸν βασιλεύοντα ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τυπῶσαι φόρους διδόναι αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίοις.

Since Q. Marcius Rex, consul in 68 B.C., was proconsul of Cilicia in 67,³ and since a King Philip is known to have been one of the last of the Seleucid rulers,⁴ it seems beyond doubt that the name given by Malalas is a garbled form of Quintus Marcius Rex;⁵ this is indeed the

¹ For the date cf. V. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* (Leipzig, 1891-1904), I, Part II, 837 ff., and II, Part II, 485 ff. Malalas relates that Agrippa made two visits to Antioch, first with Augustus when the emperor made a tour of the East, and that it was at his second visit that he cleared the hippodrome. It is certain, however, that Agrippa did not accompany Augustus on his tour; Malalas' account of the visits is discussed by W. Weber, "Studien zur Chronik des Malalas," *Festgabe für A. Deissmann* (Tübingen, 1927), p. 21, n. 1, and by A. Schenk von Stauffenberg in the notes of his edition of Books IX-XII of Malalas, *Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas* (Stuttgart, 1931), pp. 151 and 164.

² References to Malalas are given here by page and line of the Bonn edition (1831; anastatic reprint, Bonn, 1926). For passages from Books IX-XII the text of Schenk von Stauffenberg has been used; for passages in other books the text of the Bonn edition is used.

³ Cf. Münzer, art. "Marcius Rex," No. 92, *RE*, XIV, 1583-86; he does not cite the passage in Malalas.

⁴ Cf. A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides* (Paris, 1913-14), I, 441-43.

⁵ The identification, proposed by Chilmead in the critical note *ad loc.* in his edition of Malalas, is adopted by C. O. Müller, *Antiquitates Antiochenae* (Göttingen, 1839), p. 67, n. 8; E. S. Bouchier, *Syria as a Roman Province* (Oxford, 1916), p. 62; J. Dobias [CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY, XXXII, April, 1937]

only basis upon which it is possible to proceed with the interpretation of the passage, for no Quintus Marcianus is known to have had any connection with Syria before the imperial period, and the consul of 68 B.C. is the only one of the several persons named Q. Marcius Rex who is known to have been active in the East.⁶ Since Philip II occupied the throne of Syria at some time after the expulsion of Tigranes from the country and before its annexation by the Romans,⁷ the visit of Marcius Rex to Antioch would be placed, on the evidence of Malalas alone, at some time between 69 and 64. The visit can, however, be limited to 67 or 66, more probably the former year.

After Tigranes was driven out of Syria by Lucullus, Antiochus XIII came to the throne, and he must have occupied it for at least some time before his enemies brought Philip II from exile in Cilicia.⁸ Therefore, since Malalas' account indicates that Philip was in authority at Antioch when Marcius made his visit, it would seem unlikely that this visit took place in 69. It cannot have been made in 68, when Marcius was consul, for his departure from Rome was delayed, and allusions to his journey to Cilicia indicate that he was passing through Lycaonia in the early part of 67.⁹ It is also difficult to believe that Marcius could have been sent to Antioch on a mission such as Malalas de-

(see below, n. 13); and Schenk von Stauffenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 176. The name appears in transliteration in the version of this passage in the Church Slavonic translation of Malalas: V. M. Istrin, "Chronika Ioanna Malaly v Slavianskom perebodie, Kn. VIII-IX," *Sbornik otdeleniia Russkago iazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akad. Nauk* (Sankt-Peterburg), Vol. LXXXIX, No. 7 (1912), p. 17, ll. 16-17. With the form *Markianos* cf. *Demetrianos*, used by Malalas of Demetrius I of Syria (207.6, 8, 17); names of Roman officials and others are confused and garbled elsewhere in Malalas, e.g., *Byblos strategos* for M. Calpurnius Bibulus, proconsul of Syria in 51/50 B.C. (211.20, 212.1; cf. J. Dobias, "Syrsky prokonsulat M. Calpurnia Bibula," *Rozprawy Ceske Akad. ved a umeni*, Tr. I, Pro vedy filos., Cis. 65 [1923]); *Pronoios* for P. Petronius, legate of Syria in 39-41/2 A.D. (cf. Dobias in *Rivista di filologia*, LIII [1925], 245 f., and Schenk von Stauffenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 189); and *Kourion strategos* for P. Sulpicius Quirinius (222.4; cf. Schenk von Stauffenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 161).

⁶ For the other persons of the name cf. Münzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 1581-86.

⁷ Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *loc. cit.*

⁸ For the accession of Antiochus XIII cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 436 f.; and for that of Philip II cf. Diodorus xl. 1a-b in Müller, *FHG*, II, xxiv-xxvi = De Boor, *Excerpta de ineidiis*, chaps. lii-liii, pp. 210 f.

⁹ Marcius' departure was delayed by the machinations of Caesar in Gallia Transpadana (Suetonius *Caes.* 8); for his journey to his province see Sallust *Hist.* v. 14-15 (ed. Maurenbrecher), and Cassius Dio xxxvi. 15. 1 (cf. Gelzer, art. "Licinius [Lucullus]," *RE*, XIII, 404).

scribes after the passage of the Manilian Law in 66 gave Pompey unlimited imperium in the East. Furthermore, Marcius' triumph was delayed (presumably by Pompey's adherents) and he was still waiting with his troops outside of Rome in 63,¹⁰ so that it seems certain that he remained in Italy after 66. Finally, Antiochus XIII alone appears to have been in authority in Syria when Pompey organized it as a province early in 64.¹¹ There is thus no reason to believe that Marcius was ever sent on a special mission from Rome to Antioch,¹² and in itself it is more likely that such a visit as Malalas describes would be made while he was proconsul of Cilicia in 67. Accordingly, it is reasonable to conclude, with Dobias, that Antiochus XIII was the only claimant to the throne of Syria, or the only person who could have been recognized as such, in 68 and again in 65 or 65/4, while Philip's real or pretended rule is to be assigned to the years 67 and 66.¹³ During at least a part of this time Philip is known to have been at Antioch.¹⁴

The purpose of Marcius' visit has been variously explained. Malalas says that he went to Philip *τυπῶσαι φόβους δίδοναι αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίους*, and Chilmead and C. O. Müller took this to mean that he sought to levy tribute on Antioch.¹⁵ One can scarcely believe, however, that the

¹⁰ Cf. Sallust *Cat.* xxx. 1-4.

¹¹ Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 441-43, and T. Rice Holmes, *The Roman Republic* (Oxford, 1923), I, 212.

¹² Müller (quoted below, n. 15) supposed that Marcius was sent on a special mission to Antioch from Rome, and indeed the Church Slavonic version of Malalas (which was not available to Müller) states that this was the case (cf. Istrin's text, *loc. cit.*). There is, however, no reason to accept this statement, which might have been an inference from *ῥῆξ Ῥωμαίων*. The statement of the Church Slavonic version is discussed by Dobias, *Listy* (cited in the following note), p. 218, n. 6.

¹³ Josef Dobias, "Philippos Barypous," *Listy filologicke*, LI (1924), 214-27, in Czech, with summary in French, pp. vi f.; cf. his *Dejiny Rímske provincie Syrske* ("History of the Roman Province of Syria"), I (Prague, 1924), 59 ff., with the French summary, p. 549. Dobias was the first scholar to call attention to the importance of the passage in Malalas for the career of Philip II. I have been able to utilize his works only through the summaries and the citations of sources, so that some of the present study may be a repetition of his conclusions. In *Dejiny*, p. 549, he suggests that Philip was expelled from Antioch at the time of the disorders provoked there by Clodius after his release from captivity by the pirates.

¹⁴ Cf. Diodorus *loc. cit.*

¹⁵ Chilmead, in his edition of Malalas, translates: "... Cum Antiochiam Syriae, vectigal Romanis pendendum Philippo . . . indicendi causa advenisset"; Müller (*op. cit.*, p. 67) says: "Ad Philippum . . . Qu. Marcius Rex . . . Roma missus venisse dicitur, ad tributum, ut tradit Malalas, irrogandum, idemque ex sumptibus struxisse

Romans would at this time have attempted to impose tribute or taxes on the city, and indeed they would probably have had difficulty in collecting them; and it is not at all necessary to interpret the text as mechanically as this, for the word *φόροι* is vague under any circumstances, and, furthermore, it is possible that Malalas uses the Byzantine term *τυπῶσαι* to represent what might have been in his source quite a different expression. The accepted meaning of this word in the Byzantine period is "decree," "prescribe," but Dobias cites passages in Malalas in which the term does not necessarily have this connotation, and more probably means "arrange" or "decide."¹⁶ Since the meaning of the word in the present passage is thus uncertain, and since Malalas may not have understood what his source said about Marcius' visit, and may have replaced it with a stereotyped phrase, it is impossible to base any certain conclusion as to the purpose of the visit upon his account alone.

Dobias¹⁷ suggests that Marcius went to Antioch to obtain a contribution for the war against the pirates, but this explanation is open to two objections: first, that we do not know when in 67 Marcius would have made the visit (he might have gone to Antioch after the pirates had finally been suppressed in the middle of the summer of 67);¹⁸ and, second (and more important than this argument *ex silentio*), it is doubtful how much help Antioch could have given. Bouchier¹⁹ believes that Marcius visited Antioch to negotiate on the annexation of Syria by the Romans, but this view completely disregards the implication of the account that the visit was in some way concerned with financial matters; and it is unlikely not only that "negotiations"

Antiochenis veterem Circum et vetus Palatium. Quae fama quanquam et ipsa in maius aucta videri potest: agnoscimus tamen Romanos civitatis opulentiae ac suis ipsius regibus nimiae et formidolosae animos tentantes et ambitus illecebris dominatum sibi struentes" (cf. also p. 80).

¹⁶ Cf. Dobias *Listy* pp. 221 f.; the passages in Malalas are 112.20, 22; 113.1, 4; 335.12, 15, 18; 471.1. Sophocles, *s.v.*, gives only the meanings "decree," "prescribe."

¹⁷ Cf. *Dejiny*, p. 549.

¹⁸ Cf. Holmes, *op. cit.*, I, 174.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 62: "Q. Marcius Rex, who held a command in Cilicia in 68 B.C. [*sic*], seems to have been the first officer to enter into negotiations on the subject [of the annexation of Syria], and he presented the citizens [of Antioch] with a circus and palace" (cf. also p. 64). Marcius' work is mentioned only incidentally in the same author's *A Short History of Antioch* (Oxford, 1921), p. 95 (cf. pp. 40 and 88); and it is not mentioned at all by V. Schultze, *Antiocheia* ("Altechristliche Städte und Landschaften," Vol. III [Gütersloh, 1930]); cf. pp. 27, 31, 34 f.

would have been necessary before the occupation of Syria but that Marcius should, on such an occasion, present a hippodrome and a palace to the city.

Schenk von Stauffenberg²⁰ suggests that Marcius supported Philip's accession, and that in return for his backing he was assured the proceeds of the *phoroi*. This is a step in the right direction, but the value of the explanation is impaired by Schenk von Stauffenberg's failure to utilize Diodorus' description of the accession of Philip, in which it is said that he was placed on the throne by Aziz. There is no reason to doubt this statement, and there is likewise no reason to suppose that Aziz acted as an agent of the Romans. It would seem more likely that the Romans supported Philip after he had been placed on the throne, and that Marcius Rex would have been chosen to aid the new ruler because of his presence in Cilicia; and the statement that he visited Philip *τυπῶσαι φόρους διδόναι αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίοις* might mean that he simply demanded a "contribution" or "gift" as the price of Rome's friendship. The belief that Philip enjoyed Roman support is also suggested by an inscription at Uzundja Burdj (Diocaesarea) near Olba in Cilicia Trachea, in which a "King Philip, son of King Philip," who is almost certainly Philip II, is called *Φιλορώμαιος*.²¹

There remains a difficulty in the statement that Marcius Rex "built" . . . the same old hippodrome and the old palace from his own funds." Scholars have taken this to mean that Marcius erected a palace and a hippodrome at Antioch, and although it is scarcely credible that he could have made the necessary expenditure from his own funds (for the cost of such buildings would have been considerable, however modest they might have been), no one has been able to ex-

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 177 f.: "Bis zu dem—übrigens unwahrscheinlichen—Beweise des Gegenteils wird man den Gedanken nicht abweisen dürfen, dass der Konsular verträglich gegen seine Unterstützung des Prätendenten [Philip] bei der Thronbesteigung die Zusage der Phorosabgaben erhielt, ja dass er zu diesem Zwecke in Antiochien erschien und bei dieser Gelegenheit die erwähnten Bauten gestiftet hat. Dies ist bei den unklaren damaligen Verhältnissen durchaus denkbar und nicht minder, dass der mit unbeschränkten Vollmachten ausgestattete Pompeius alle diese Massnahmen wieder aufgehoben hat." He does not mention the interpretations of Müller, Bouchier, and Dobias (cf. further below, n. 22).

²¹ The inscription, published by Josef Keil and Adolf Wilhelm, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, Vol. III (Manchester, 1931), No. 62, pp. 64-66, records an honor bestowed upon an individual by [Βασιλεῦς] Φίλιππος [ἱὸς βασιλέως Φιλίπ[που] Φιλορώμαιος. . . . The editors point out that this is without doubt the Seleucid Philip II, but they do not cite the present passage in Malalas or the various discussions of it.

plain satisfactorily how or why he might have done so, or what relation such munificence might have had with the purpose of his visit.²² The difficulty is not serious, however. Malalas frequently uses *κτίζω* to mean "repair," "rebuild," "enlarge," or "complete," so that a statement by him that a person "built" a building does not necessarily mean that this person built the structure for the first time, but may mean only that he was concerned with some kind of work upon the building.²³ Marcius may thus have simply repaired a palace and a hippodrome which had already been in existence, perhaps because they had been damaged in the catastrophic earthquake which visited

²² Cf. the opinions of Müller and Bouchier, quoted above, nn. 15 and 19. In one passage (*op. cit.*, p. 178; quoted above, n. 20) Schenk von Stauffenberg accepts Malalas' report concerning the construction of the buildings at its face value, while in another (p. 457) he suggests that Marcius' work in connection with the palace might have been a restoration of the Seleucid palace; he does not, however, give any reason for this suggestion, and does not discuss the possibility further.

²³ The usage has been made abundantly clear by the studies of Müller, Förster, Weber, and Schenk von Stauffenberg; cf. the analogous use of *aedifico* in Latin, illustrated by the ancient definitions quoted in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, s.v., I, 1b. Many instances of the usage in Malalas have been noted by Müller (*op. cit.*, pp. 46, n. 1; pp. 53 f., 60, 62, 81, 96), by Schenk von Stauffenberg (*op. cit.*, pp. 483 and 489), and by R. Förster ("Antiochia am Orontes," *Jahrbuch d. k. deutschen archäol. Inst.*, XII [1897], p. 120, n. 78); the significance of the usage in relation to Malalas' sources and the way in which he used them is suggested by Weber's observations on the sources (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 46). Since I shall, in the monograph on the literary evidence for the topography of Antioch which I am preparing, make a detailed study of the subject, it will be sufficient to point out here the major examples of the usage, to which others may be added later. Malalas sometimes uses *ktizo* to describe work done to buildings or cities which he expressly says were damaged or ruinous (207.14, 211.18, quoted below, n. 25; 282.8, 299.21, 308.3, 477.1); again he uses the word of work done to buildings which, according to other passages in his own work, had been damaged or destroyed (398.9, cf. 397.14; 282.10, cf. 235.18; 277.11, cf. 234.5); and he frequently uses the word to describe the enlargement or completion of buildings which he specifically says were already in existence (the theater at Antioch, 217.2, 222.20, 234.22, 276.4; the palace at Antioch, 306.21; the hippodrome at Constantinople, 292.11, 321.15; and a tetrapylon at Laodicea in Syria, 223.2). Again, he says (280.12) that Antoninus Pius built "a great temple to Zeus" at Heliopolis; Wiegand's study of the architectural ornament has shown, however, that the temple of Zeus at Baalbek was founded under one of the Julian emperors (cf. H. Winnefeld in Th. Wiegand, *Baalbek*, II [Berlin, 1923], 146 f.), and Malalas' "building" would thus be completion, restoration, or other similar work (cf. Schenk von Stauffenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 314, and W. Ensslin in *Philologische Wochenschrift*, LIII [1933], 774). Malalas sometimes uses the noun *ktisma* to mean "the work [or act] of building" instead of "a structure" (299.23, 318.15, 324.8, 338.21, and 360.10; the word probably has the same meaning also in 235.5, 275.15, 19; 318.4, 360.5, 361.18, 369.9, 406.21); cf. its use in this sense in an inscription of A.D. 635/6 at Baalbek, *AAES*, Vol. III, No. 342. This indicates that Malalas' employment of the verb in the senses "rebuild," "enlarge," etc., is not loose or ambiguous, but that to him it simply meant "build" in the sense of "to engage in construction work," i.e., "to have to do with *ktisma*."

Syria shortly before the expulsion of Tigranes, that is, a few years at most before Marcius was in Antioch.²⁴ Malalas' statement elsewhere that when Pompey visited the city he "built" the bouleuterion, "for it had fallen,"²⁵ might indicate that it had been damaged by an earthquake, so that it would again seem possible that the work of Marcius was occasioned by an earthquake. On the other hand, the disturbed political conditions which had prevailed in Syria for some time past would furnish sufficient basis for the supposition that the buildings had fallen into disrepair through neglect or lack of funds.²⁶ If all three buildings needed repair, the palace and the hippodrome, being of more immediate importance than the bouleuterion, would be restored first; and if it be supposed that Philip was supported by the Romans, it would seem likely that the palace and the hippodrome would be rehabilitated in an effort to insure the king's dignity and popularity and to impress upon the people the nature of the support which he en-

²⁴ Justinus xl. 2. 1-2: "Sed sicut ab hostibus tuta Syria fuit, ita terrae motu vastata est, quo centum septuaginta milia hominum et multae urbes perierunt. Quod prodigium mutationem rerum portendere aruspices responderunt. Igitur Tigrane a Lucullo victo rex Syriae Antiochus, Cyziceni filius, ab eodem Lucullo appellatur." Strabo quotes from Posidonius an account of an earthquake in Syria which may have occurred during the lifetime of Posidonius (ca. 135—ca. 51 B.C.) or shortly before, but it is not certain that this affected Antioch, and it is probably not to be identified with that mentioned by Justinus (Strabo i. 3. 16, p. 58C = F. Gr. Hist. IIA, frag. 87, p. 274, with notes in IIC, pp. 201 f.; cf. Capelle, art. "Erdbebenforschung," *RE Suppl.*, IV, 356).

²⁵ 211.16-19: . . . εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ἀντιοχείῳ πόλει, ποιήσας αὐτὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίου, χαρισάμενος αὐτοῖς πολλὰ καὶ κτίσας τὸ βουλευτήριον· περὶ οὗτος γὰρ ἦν. This is presumably the bouleuterion built by Antiochus Epiphanes (Malalas, 205.14-19, 234.2).

²⁶ The epithets "old" which Malalas applies to the palace and the hippodrome do not constitute certain evidence that the buildings existed before the time of Marcius Rex, for although the natural interpretation of these terms would be that they were used with reference to the time of Marcius Rex, implying the existence of a "new" palace and a "new" hippodrome in his time, it would not be impossible for Malalas to use the epithets from the point of view of his own time, to mean that the structures which Marcius "built" were, in the sixth century after Christ, the "old" palace and the "old" hippodrome, i.e., "old" in comparison with similar structures which had been built since the time of Marcius Rex. Possibly the epithets might mean "ancient," in the sense that the buildings were already in existence before the time of Marcius, without the implication that "new" structures of the same kind existed then. Malalas uses "old" of monuments at Antioch in three other instances, twice in a normal way in allusions to the relation of a new part of the city wall to an older portion (233.1, 346.14), but in another passage he says that Diocletian built a public bath at Antioch "near the old hippodrome" (307.1). This last allusion is presumably connected with the use of the epithet in the account of Marcius' work, but its significance is not clear. In any case, the evidence is of such doubtful interpretation that it will not give undisputed proof that the structures which Marcius "built" had already existed.

joyed.²⁷ Finally, not only is there no reason to accept the statement that Marcius made the necessary outlay from his own funds, but the implication of an epigraphic source contained in the phrase ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων suggests that Malalas' information was derived ultimately from material in which Marcius' part in the building activities described would readily have been subject to distortion; the epigraphic record might have been open to misinterpretation, particularly by authors such as Malalas and the sources which he used, with the result that Marcius might be assigned more than his just share in the operations, or indeed Marcius himself might, in a building inscription, have laid claim to credit for the repair of the buildings which was really due to the Roman government.²⁸

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²⁷ The Roman government would presumably have gone to the expense of repairing the palace and the hippodrome in order to support Philip, but the erection of entirely new buildings for this purpose seems quite out of the question (cf. Müller, quoted above, n. 15).

²⁸ There are other instances in which the misinterpretation of epigraphic material (evidently used, of course, through literary sources) by Malalas or his sources seems responsible for his attribution to certain persons of a greater share in building activities than they probably had, and for statements that certain persons "built" buildings which they actually only repaired or completed (cf. Schenk von Stauffenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 231, 312 f., 315; on other aspects of Malalas' use of epigraphic material cf. my paper, "References to Inscriptions in the Chronicle of Malalas," *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, LXVI [1935], 55-72). It is illuminating to find, also, that while Malalas says, in his account of the construction of the basilica of Anatolius at Antioch, that the work was done by the *magister militum* Anatolius with funds furnished by Theodosius II (360.7), Evagrius, who certainly knew this passage in Malalas, says only that it was built by Anatolius and does not mention the emperor's part in the work (I, 18). It cannot have been uncommon for a subordinate official to claim for himself in a building inscription an undue amount of credit for its erection. W. Liebenam (*Städteverwaltung im röm. Kaiserreiche* [Leipzig, 1900] p. 164) cites a decree of 394 which makes such a procedure actionable for *laesa maiestas* (*Cod. theod.* xv. 1, 31: "Si qui iudices perfecto operi suum potius nomen quam nostrae perennitatis scriberint, maiestatis teneantur obnoxii . . ."), and a passage in which Ammianus Marcellinus says, of a city prefect of Rome (xxvii. 3, 7): "Vanitatis autem eius exemplum, ne latius evagemur, hoc unum sufficere poni, leve quidem, sed cavendum iudicibus. Per omnia enim civitatis membra quae diversorum principum exornarunt impensae, nomen proprium inscribat, non ut veterum instaurator, sed conditor." Falsified or exaggerated claims in the epigraphic records of the building activities of the emperors and their families are discussed by D. R. Stuart, "Imperial Methods of Inscription on Restored Buildings," *Amer. Jour. Arch.*, IX (1905), 427-49; "The Reputed Influence of the *Dies natalis* in Determining the Inscription of Restored Temples," *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, XXXVI (1905), 52-63; "The Point of an Emperor's Jest," *Class. Phil.*, III (1908), 59-64.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

PUBLICAN SOCIETIES IN SICILY IN 73-71 B.C.¹

Since the publication of Jerome Carcopino's "*Decumani: Note sur l'organisation des sociétés publicaines*," *Mél. arch. et hist.*, XXV (1905), 401-42, and *La Loi de Hiéron* (Paris, 1914), it has been generally held that one, and only one, publican society operated in Sicily during Verres' governorship (73-71 B.C.). This society has been thoroughly identified. Among its *magistri* were L. Vibius (Cicero *II Verr.* ii. 182), P. Vettius, P. Servilius, and C. Antistius (*ibid.* iii. 167). L. Carpinatius was its general manager (*pro magistro*) in the province (*ibid.* ii. 169) and L. Canuleius its collector in the port of Syracuse (*ibid.* ii. 171, 176, 182).² We might as well call it Vibius' company since this personage is the *magister* with whom *The Verrines* first acquaint us. Disqualified by law from bidding for the collection of the tithes,³ this company was commissioned to collect the customs revenues (*portorium*) and the grazing-tax (*scriptura*), but whether on the basis of one or two separate awards we are not told.⁴ It is worth while to re-examine the testimony upon which rests the theory of one monopolistic company.

Two statements by Cicero are usually assigned as proof of the one-company theory. The first merely says that Vibius' society collected the grazing-tax and also the revenues of the port of Syracuse: "*portum autem et scripturam eadem societas habebat*" (*II Verr.* ii. 171). The second statement says that, in addition to the grazing-tax, it collected six *publica*: "*Misit [Vettius, the magister who succeeded Vibius] in Siciliam litteras ad Carpinatium, cum esset magister scripturae et sex publicorum*" (*ibid.* iii. 167). Each time the term *publicum* occurs, whether in literature or in epigraphy, its only clear meaning is that of revenue or revenue district. The nature of the revenue is never explicitly revealed.⁵ But in our case, since Cicero says in one place that

¹ The author gratefully acknowledges the financial assistance rendered by Social Science Research Council for the investigation of which this article is a part.

² Carcopino, *La Loi de Hiéron*, p. 91.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 100 f.; Rostovtzeff, *s.v. Frumentum*, Pauly-Wissowa, Vol. VII, col. 152. In 75 B.C. the publicans attempted to have this disqualification removed in so far as it applied to the collection of *vini et olei decumas et frugum minutarum*, but their efforts were unsuccessful (Cic. *II Verr.* iii. 18).

⁴ Marquardt believes it was done by one award (*Organization financière*, p. 380).

⁵ We still depend upon Ulpian's definition for our knowledge of the meaning of *publicum*: "'Publica' vectigalia intellegere debemus ex quibus vectigal fiscus capit: quale est vectigal portus vel venalium rerum, item salinarum et metallorum et piscinarum" (*Dig.* l. 16. 17. 1). See also Hirschfeld, *Kaiserl. Verwaltungsab.*, pp. 77 ff.,

Vibius' company collected the *scriptura* and the *portorium* of Syracuse, and in another that it collected the *scriptura* and six *publica*, scholars have logically concluded that *publicum* means port revenue or port administration. Rostovtzeff interprets it as customs district. According to him, the whole of the Sicilian coast was divided into six districts which were named each after its principal port, that is, Lilybaeum and Drepanum in the west, Panhormus in the north, Messana and Syracuse in the east, and Phintia (Licata) in the south.⁶ This interpretation seems correct only in so far as it brings out the district idea, but is unsatisfactory when it attempts to identify the districts. Indeed, Drepanum and Phintia, which appear in this scheme among the most important ports, were in fact among the smallest commercial centers.⁷ Then, too, if limited only to six, the districts would be too large, and would perforce embrace, beside the port after which each was named and which was presumably of the first class, some other port or ports, as we shall see, also of the first class.

Cicero offers a more reliable index. He enumerates eight ports from which Verres exported goods to Italy without paying the customary duty of 5 per cent, that is, Syracuse, Agrigentum, Lilybaeum, Panhormus, Thermae Himeraeae, Halaesa, Catana, and Messana; and adds that besides these there were still others (*II Verr.* ii. 185). We need not question the commercial importance of these cities since Cicero himself takes it for granted.⁸ And we may conjecture the identity of some of the ports he does not mention, e.g., wealthy Tauromenium in the east; the fairly prosperous cities of Solus, Cephaloedium, Haluntium, and Tyndaris in the north; the harbor of ancient Camarina which still served one of the most thickly settled and rich hinterlands of the south; Lipara which made large profits from the exportation of alum (*Diod.* v. 10. 2); and Melita whose textile products enjoyed great renown (cf. *Cic. II Verr.* ii. 176, 183).⁹ The fact that Cicero calls his eight points of embarkation *oppida*

esp. his comment on *CIL*, VIII, 14454—*PROC(urator) DUCEN(arius) IIII PUBL(icorum) PROV(inciae) AFR(icae)*—and a few other inscriptions.

⁶ *Geschichte der Staatspacht in der römischen Kaiserzeit bis Diokletian*, "Philologus," Supplementband IX, Heft 3 (1904), S. 391.

⁷ Drepanum could hardly be a port of the first class owing to the absence of a large hinterland.

⁸ After speaking of Verres' exports from the port of Syracuse, Cicero says: "Cogitate nunc, cum illa Sicilia sit, hoc est insula, quae undique exitus maritimos habeat, quid ex ceteris locis exportatum putetis, quid Agrigento, quid Lilybaeo, quid Panhormo, quid Thermais, quid Halaesa, quid Catina, quid ex ceteris oppidis, quid vero Messana" (*II Verr.* ii. 185).

⁹ Most *publica* were probably limited to the ports from which they took their names, but a certain number may have included the near-by coast. Panhormus, e.g., might comprise Hyccara and Parthenicum. Syracuse might be headquarters for the smaller ports of Xiphonia, Trogilos, Naustathmos, Portus Pachyni, Portus Odysseae, and probably also Kaukana; Agrigentum for the southern coast toward Lilybaeum; and Phintia for the same coast eastward.

and *loci* does not alter the situation since it is evident that he means *portus*. But does he mean *publica* in the sense of customs districts or seats of customs administration? Two reasons would show that he does.

First, the identification of *portus* with *publicum* is clear, as we have seen, in the case of Syracuse. Carpinatius, the general manager of the company that had contracted for six *publica* in Sicily, had his official residence in that city (Cic. *II Verr.* ii. 186 ff.; iii. 167); his subaltern, Canuleius, was collector of the port there (*ibid.* ii. 171, 176, 182); and the explicit statement is made that the company for which they both were working had contracted for the customs dues of that port (*ibid.* ii. 171).

Second, if Vibius' company collected the *portorium* in the entire province, it would have been more logical for Cicero to say *cum esset magister scripturae et portorii*. The phrase he chose, *cum esset magister scripturae et sex publicorum*, would seem to imply that the company had contracted for six *publica* only, but not for all. Indeed, we must explain why Cicero, although he is well informed about *scriptura Siciliae* apparently as extending over the entire province (*II Verr.* ii. 169), knows nothing about *portorium Siciliae*. It would seem, then, that all the eight ports Cicero lists by name were *publica*. But it may be that some of the smaller towns were also *publica* in their own name. This implies of course that, on the one hand, the average district was considerably smaller than that proposed by Rostovtzeff and, on the other hand, that the six *publica* awarded to Vibius' company, far from representing all the customs districts of Sicily or even the major part, were probably less than half. We know that the administration of finances in the province of Sicily was divided into two separate units or quaestorships, one corresponding to the older province, wrested from the Carthaginians, with headquarters in Lilybaeum, the other coextensive with the former kingdom of Syracuse. The six *publica* awarded to Vibius' company were probably all of them in the latter division. We may be sure that the ports of the older province had been exploited, between the First and the Second Punic wars, by one publican society. It is likely that with the annexation of the kingdom of Syracuse (211 B.C.), just as there was formed a new financial division under a second quaestor, so also the newly acquired ports were turned over, for much the same political and administrative reasons, to a second publican society.¹⁰

The case with the *scriptura* was different. Cicero seems to have had good ground for using the term *scriptura Siciliae* while avoiding that of *portorium Siciliae*. Rome acquired no *ager publicus* to speak of in Sicily in the First Punic War. She did occupy docks, arsenals, forts, and certain urban properties, but probably very little, if any, tillable or pasture land.¹¹ Under these circumstances there was no room for an organized *scriptura*. It was as a re-

¹⁰ The *promagister portuum provinciae Siciliae* under Trajan (*CIL*, III, 6065) would point to a unified administration of all the ports of the province. This new arrangement was probably effected by Augustus when he reorganized the province.

¹¹ T. Frank, " 'Dominium in solo provinciali' and 'Ager publicus,' " *Jour. Rom. St.*, XVII (1927), 144.

sult of the rebellion and uncompromising resistance of several cities during the Second Punic War that Rome resorted to confiscation and established a sizable public domain.¹² I suggest that *scriptura Siciliae* refers to the latter acquisitions which were of course spread throughout the island, hence could be properly designated by that name; and that the collection of the rents was awarded as a matter of policy to the same company to which was awarded the collection of the *portorium* in the erstwhile kingdom of Syracuse. At any rate, we have here two new sources of revenue, acquired at the same time and pressing for a definite systematization. If this argumentation is valid, we must conclude that there were at the time of Verres two publican societies in Sicily, one in charge of the *portorium* in the older or former Carthaginian province and the other exploiting the *portorium* in the territories that had formerly been the kingdom of Syracuse, and the *scriptura* of the entire province. Cicero's silence in this respect is of course weighty but by no means conclusive. He had nothing to say probably because Verres committed no dishonest act either against or in collusion with the older company.

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A "LOST" PARALLEL FOR *εχονομα*

In Papyrus Oxyrhynchus VIII, 1160, a private letter written in the late third or early fourth century A.D. "in more than usually vulgar Greek" by Trophimus to his father, Origen, occur a few lines (7-9) which have been the subject of a certain amount of discussion. Trophimus repeats a rebuke contained in a letter of his father's:

ἔγραψάς μοι διὰ τῶν σῶν γραμμάτων
ὅτι καυχώμενος εχονομα [*εχονομα*]
Διοδώρου ὅτι ἔπεμψά σοι ἀργύρια.

Professor Hunt emended *εχονομα* to *ἐχ(ω)δνομα* and translated: "You wrote to me in your letter that my boastfulness earns me the name of 'Gift of Zeus' because I sent you money." So skilful a play on the name *Διόδωρος* is not what we expect in an ordinary papyrus letter, and certainly not in one of which the Greek leaves something to be desired.

Subsequently, Professor Winter¹ found two more examples of *εχονομα* similarly followed by the genitive of a personal name in a private letter² which was written in the third century A.D. and recovered by the University of Michigan expedition at Karanis in 1930. I reproduce the pertinent lines with their context because a re-examination of the papyrus³ has yielded slight

¹² *Ibid.*

¹ John G. Winter, *Life and Letters in the Papyri* ("The Jerome Lectures" [Ann Arbor, 1931]), pp. 61-62.

² P. Mich. Inv. 5805.

³ I am indebted to Professor Winter for his kindness in putting at my disposal his transcription and translation.

improvements of reading and interpretation. A longer excerpt than was originally given in the Jerome lectures has seemed advisable in order to establish the fact that here, too, the Greek may properly be called "vulgar."

- 16 εἰ τει ἔχω σέν ἐστιν καὶ τοῦ ἀδελ-
φοῦ σου. ἤκουσα ὅτει ἀγῆδιαν πεποι-
ηκες μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός σου χάριν τοῦ
πατρός σου. οὐ μεμνηκαὶ ἐχονο-
μα μου ὅτει χειμῶν ἐστιν. πέμ-
ψον αὐτόν παρ' αὐτόν. ἥν ἀναβῶ,
κυβερνήσω αὐτ[ό]ν πάλιν. μένω
Ἀπολλῶν. τάχα στρατεύσεται.
στρατευθῇ μὴ σ[τ]ρατευθῇ δὲ με
25 ἀναβῆναι. γράψον μοι περὶ τῆς
σωτηρείας σου ἐν τάχει. ἥν θέλῃς
γράψαι ἐπιστολεῖν, ἐχονομα Σε-
ρήνου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Σκαμβῦτες
μένω τὸ προσκύνημα αὐτοῦ
30 ἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Σεράπιδος.

Since ἔχ(ω) ὄνομα is impossible in the context of the Michigan papyrus, Professor Winter concluded rightly that ἐχονομα must be retained both there and in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus. In view of the limited extent of the evidence he hesitated to choose between alternative explanations. His own words will serve:

The expansion into ἐχ (= ἐκ) ὄνόμα(τος) in the familiar sense "on account of," would afford a more consistent meaning, but that, too, remains improbable. It may be a phonetic variant of the prepositional ἐχόμενα, meaning "near," "beside," or "in the presence of." Whatever its origin and precise meaning may be, it seems certain that in each of the three instances the words serve a prepositional function. . . .

In her review⁴ of Professor Winter's book, Dr. Rosenberger prefers to derive the word from ἐχε+ὄνομα on the doubtful analogy of words like *scilicet* and *videlicet*, and reports Professor Kalbfleisch's suggestion that ἐχονομα derives by haplogy from an accusative absolute ἔχον ὄνομα. As we shall see, the latter possibility was proposed some years ago by Sir Frederic Kenyon.

Since the appearance of Professor Winter's note I have found two more examples of ἐχονομα which tip the balance in favor of his conjecture that the word derives from ἐχόμενα. Neither the word index of P. Lond. II nor Preisigke's *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* reveals the existence of ἐχονομα, but both have under ἔχω a reference to P. Lond. II (p. 330, No. 391 [sixth century ?], ll. 10-11). That document, which is an agreement for joint tenancy of a house, has suffered serious damage. In the words of the editor, Sir Frederic Kenyon, "it is so much defaced and so ungrammatical that the precise sense of many parts of it cannot be determined." The first of the

⁴ *Gnomon*, X (1934), 435-36.

lines in which we are interested is defective, but the following two are well preserved:

- 9 [Naa]ραοῦ ἐστίν,
 10 κα[ὶ τὸ] δεύτερον κ[αυ]στήριον ἐχονομα τοῦ Νααραοῦ τοῦ [Ἡ]ράκλιτε πρε(σβυτέρου)
 ἐστίν,
 11 καὶ τῇ τριῖς καυστήριον⁶ ἐχονομα τοῦ Ἡράκλιτε πρε(σβυτέρου) τοῦ Θεόφιλος ἐστίν.

The editor felt *ἐχονομα* to be a word of uncertain meaning. He suggested as possibility both *ἔχον ὄνομα*, an interpretation which Professor Kalbfleisch has revived, and *ἐχόμενον*, "adjoining." Nevertheless, careful translation seems to me to place the sense of the passage beyond doubt: "[The first oven] belongs to Naarau;⁶ the second oven, next to (that of) Naarau, belongs to Heraclite the elder; the third oven, next to (that of) Heraclite the elder, belongs to Theophilus." *ἐχονομα* has here the meaning that is proper to *ἐχόμενα* in its primary local aspect. The editor's suggestion that the word might be a misspelling of *ἐχόμενον* recognizes the need of an adjectival construction, but the character of the Greek reveals a writer who handled the language with considerable laxity. The form twice used on the papyrus may well be a vulgar corruption of *ἐχόμενα*, which arose as follows: *ἐχόμενα* > *ἐχόμενα*⁷ > *ἐχόνομα*. The corruption of *-όμενα* to *-όνομα* may involve contamination with the common word *ὄνομα*. Persons who used *ἐχόνομα* doubtless discerned in it the elements *ἔχειν* and *ὄνομα* and had no clear notion of a relation with *ἐχόμενα*. Despite the corruption, however, the basic sense of proximity was not lost, as the London papyrus shows.

In the Oxyrhynchus and Michigan papyri the word is obviously the same, but it is there applied metaphorically to relations between persons. I venture to suggest appropriate translations.

You wrote me in your letter that I am boasting to (in the presence of, in the house of) Diodorus that I sent you money [P. Oxy. VIII, 1160, 7-9].

He has not stayed with (near, beside, in the house of) me because it is winter. . . . I wait for Apollo. . . . If you wish to write a letter, it is with (in the house of) Serenus, the brother of Scamby, that I await his greeting . . . [P. Mich. Inv. 5805, 19 ff.].

The reader will not fail to see the implication that *ἐχόνομα* might in these passages be rendered neatly in French with *chez Diodore*, *chez moi*, *chez Sérène*. but the comparison of course does not extend to etymology.

⁵ F. Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, I, 270.

⁶ The name is entered in the indexes of P. Lond. II under the nominative *Naapaos*, and this has been taken over by Preisigke into his *Namenbuch*. The names *Naapaov*, *Ἡράκλιτε*, and *Θεόφιλος* are clearly treated as indeclinable in this text. Preisigke's further reference to Stud. Pal. VIII appears to belong with *Naapaov*. Under the circumstances the examples of *Naapaov* in Stud. Pal. X are best referred to *Naapaovs*; cf. L. Amundsen, *Ostr. Oslo.*, p. 49.

⁷ On the change of *ε* to *ο* in an unaccented syllable, cf. K. Dieterich, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* ("Byzantinisches Archiv," Heft 1), pp. 1 and 21-22; E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, I, 96-97.

It is significant that the three texts which share among them five examples of *ἐχόνομα* are of the third to the sixth centuries and have evidently close relations with the colloquial language. *ἐχόνομα* is not then simply an error, but appears to be a popular distortion of *ἐχόμενα* with a history of at least four centuries. So far as I can determine, it has not survived in the modern Greek dialects.

ADDENDUM

Professor V. B. Schuman has been kind enough to send me the text of an ostrakon in his possession, probably of the latter half of the second century A.D., which he recognized as furnishing conclusive proof of the equivalence of *ἐχόνομα* with *ἐχόμενα*. The text appears to be part of a survey list and contains the phrase *βορρᾶ ἐχόνο(μα) τοῦ αὐτοῦ κλήρου*. In expressions of this kind, the word *ἐχόμενος* is practically a *terminus technicus*,⁸ and any remnant of doubt regarding the identity of *ἐχόνομα* is thus dispelled. The same adverbial use of *ἐχόμενα*⁹ is found in the *Sammelbuch*, I, 4325, *passim*: *νότου ἐχόμενα ἀρουραι, κτλ.*

Apart from Professor Schuman's ostrakon, all the known occurrences of *ἐχόνομα* are followed by the genitive of the person,¹⁰ and fortunately *ἐχόμενα* is also now attested in this construction. A Columbia papyrus¹¹ has the phrase *δῶξον ἐμὲ εἶναι ἐχόμενά σου*, and a revision¹² of P. Giessen 77, 11, undertaken by Professor Kalbfleisch at the suggestion of Professor Wilcken, has yielded *δῶξον σε ἐγὼ εἰμ[ε] ἐχόμε[ε]νά [σου]*. With these may be associated P. Oxy. VII, 1061, 28: *ἐχομέ(νος) Θέωνο(ς) Ἰσχυρίω(νος)*, where *ἐχόμε(να)* is equally possible. I have already remarked on the relatively long life that the vulgar form *ἐχόνομα* must have enjoyed. I add Professor Wilcken's comment, apropos of P. Columbia Inv. 318 and P. Giessen 77, on the probable geographical extension of this construction with *ἐχόμενα*: "Wenn man bedenkt, dass der eine Brief in der Thebais, der andere von einer Fayûmerin geschrieben ist, so sieht man, dass wir eine damals weit verbreitete Redensart vor uns haben."

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⁸ For literature see F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienstes Ägyptens*, s.v. *ἐχω*; for references to papyri the same author's *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, s.v. *ἐχω* (11).

⁹ For *ἐχόμενα* as an adverb see E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, II, Part II, 200; J. F. Schleusner, *Novus Thesaurus philologico-criticus sive Lexicon in LXX et reliquos interpretes graecos ac scriptores apocryphos Veteris Testamenti*, s.v. *ἐχω*; J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, s.v. *ἐχω*.

¹⁰ For *ἐχόμενα* as a preposition with the genitive of an inanimate object see the references in n. 2. Cf. F. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, I, 3892: *ἐχόμενα Ἰσιδίου Παλά*, discussed by U. Wilcken (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, IV, 251), and P. Strassburg 29, 36: *ἐχόμενα ταβτης* (sc. *τῆς γῆς*).

¹¹ P. Columbia Inv. 318, ed. by C. W. Keyes (*Classical Philology*, XXX, 143 ff.) and discussed by Wilcken (*op. cit.*, XII, 83).

¹² Wilcken, *op. cit.*, XII, 83.

JUVENAL i. 155-57

Pone Tigellinum, taeda lucebis in illa
qua stantes ardent qui fixo gutture fumant,
et latum media sulcum deducit harena.

It is perhaps impossible to recover what Juvenal wrote in this famous passage; at any rate it will not help to list the many attempts at emendation which the prolific past brought forth.¹ We may reflect, however, that of the two most celebrated editors of this century, Housman² was driven to supposing a line lost after verse 156 containing a subject for *deducit*; Leo desired a future tense in verse 157 and wrote *ducetis*. Both these worthy demands will be met if we read

atque latus media sulcum deducet harena.

Latus was readily corrupted to *latum*; *atque*, which would not scan, was emended to *et*.

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EMENDATION OF ANTIPHANES, FRAG. 52

In a fragment of Antiphanes (frag. 52 [Kock, II, 31]) occurs the line νεογενοῦς ποίμνης δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πνικτὰ γαλακτοθρέμματα. The last word does not fit into the trochaic tetrameter. Dindorf changed it to γαλατοθρέμματα, and this is adopted by Kock and also by Kaibel in his text of Athenaeus, 449b, the source of the fragment. But γαλατοθρέμματα is not a likely formation, nor is γαλακοθρέμματα, which the new Liddell and Scott lists as a probable reading. There are no other authentic examples of γαλατο- or γαλακο-compounds mentioned by Liddell and Scott. The *Thesaurus* quotes γαλατοκράς from Arcadius p. 21. 5 (Barker). But in Herodian i. p. 51. 13, which reproduces Arcadius, the reading is γαλακτοκράς, and no variant is given. Similarly *ibid.* ii. pp. 633. 10 and 759. 15.

I should like to suggest that Antiphanes wrote—or pronounced—γαλακτοθρέμματα. The compound γαλακτοφάγος occurs in *Iliad* xiii. 6 at the beginning of a line, where the meter would admit of nothing else, and also in Hesiod, frag. 54. γαλακτοπαγής is cited by the new Liddell and Scott from *Jahrb.* 19, Anz. 186 (Smyrn.), and γαλακτοφόρος is read by Schneider in Marcellus Sidetes

¹ A number are discussed by Mr. S. G. Owen in *Classical Review*, XI, 401, and XXIII, 110.

² The reviewer in *Classical Weekly*, XXVI, 62 ff., and especially the writer of the incredible footnote (*ibid.*, p. 63), do not seem to have understood Housman's reasons, obvious and excellent as they are. Perhaps these interpreters will consider Ramsay's literal translation: "You will blaze amid those faggots in which men . . . stand and burn and smoke, and you trace a broad furrow, etc.," reading, of course, *deducia*.

100 (*Commentationes philologiae quibus Ottoni Ribbeckio congratulantur discipuli Lipsienses*, p. 131; see *ibid.*, p. 121), two manuscripts having γαλακτοφόρος and four γλαγοφόρος, both of which the meter forbids. Incidentally, Oppian (*Cynegetica* i. 443) has γαλακτοφόροισι. In *Cynegetica* iii. 478 we have the line ἐντὸς ἐρηρέδαται γαλακτόχρoες ἀμφὶς ὀδόντες, where Boudreaux keeps the manuscript reading, evidently intending the syllable -ακτ- to be treated as short. Schneider reads γλακτόχρoες and Dindorf γαλατο-. Perhaps γαλακτο-, even when so written, may have been pronounced as a dissyllable when the meter demanded it. In any case, the evidence seems to be against γαλατο-.

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TA KAINA TOT POEEMOT

In dealing with the Greek words found in Cicero's *Letters* one can be forgiven for frequent disgust or laughter over the Latin *adscripta* by which such words are translated in the class of manuscripts known as Δ. Their woodenness and downright error are, to be sure, about what we have to expect. Nevertheless, they are not entirely useless for the textual critic. In the *Epistulae ad Atticum* v. 20. 3, for example, there is an oasis in the desert. Cicero, out in his province of Cilicia, is telling Atticus about the effect of his military moves on the morale of the Romans and of their enemies, the Parthians. He says, according to the manuscripts and modern editors, "Interim—scis enim dici quaedam πανικά, dici item τὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου—rumore adventus nostri et Cassio, qui Antiochia tenebatur, animus accessit et Parthis timor iniectus est." Here τὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου must be explained as "the empty fears of war," and it has been generally accepted, even by Sjögren. But the adscript in Δ for τὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου is *nova belli*. To say that the writer of the adscript knew what he was doing when he wrote this would be something like flattery; but either by accident or by divine Providence he has suggested the correct reading of Cicero's letter.

An ancient Greek who said τὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου would probably have meant "the futilities of war" (cf. especially Diogenes Laertius v. 41, where τὸ κενόν is contrasted with τὸ συμφέρον). Such a sense would be foreign to Cicero's context. The adscript *nova* suggests *καινά*, for which *κενά* would be the easiest kind of corruption, in view of the later pronunciation of *ai* with the sound of *e*. And further support for *καινά* will appear in what follows.

In Thucydides iii. 30 the Elean Teutiaplus is trying to persuade the officers of the Peloponnesian fleet to make a surprise attack on Mitylene, which the Athenians have just captured. The city, having just been taken, will be poorly guarded—such is the argument of Teutiaplus—because no attempt to retake it will be expected so soon. καὶ μὴ ἀποκνήσωμεν τὸν κίνδυνον, he goes on to say in section 4, νομίσαντες οὐκ ἄλλο τι εἶναι τὸ καινὸν τοῦ πολέμου ἢ τὸ

τοιούτων· ὁ εἰ τις στρατηγὸς ἔν τε αὐτῷ φυλάσσοιτο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνορῶν ἐπιχειροίη, πλείστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο. Here C and M read *κενόν*, but C² has written *καινόν* over it. *κενόν* does not fit the context, for Teutiaplus cannot have in mind the "empty fears of war" or the "futilities of war." *καινόν* does fit—the "newness that comes into war," the "shifting nature of war"—and though the weight of manuscript authority is for *κενόν*, the sense of the passage and the ease with which *αι* could be corrupted to *ε* point clearly to *καινόν* as Thucydides' word. Steup's conjecture *κοινόν* is paleographically less easy and gives a less satisfactory sense. It simply helps to show the difficulty of accepting *κενόν*. Hude rightly reads *καινόν*.

The case of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* 1116 b 7 leads to a similar conclusion. There courage has been defined as *ἡ ἐμπειρία ἢ περὶ ἕκαστα*, and the courage of soldiers in war has been cited as an example. Then comes the following: *δοκεῖ γὰρ εἶναι πολλὰ καινὰ τοῦ πολέμου, ἃ μάλιστα συνειρώκασιν οὗτοι* (sc. *οἱ στρατιῶται*). The manuscripts are divided between *καινὰ* and *κενὰ*, and the generally accepted reading has been *κενὰ*, translated "empty alarms" (W. D. Ross) or "false alarms" (Rackham). But the best manuscript, K^b, as well as M^b, read *καινὰ*. In view of what we have seen above one can scarcely doubt that *καινὰ* is what Aristotle wrote. Brave soldiers are brave because they know the shifts, the contingencies, of war.

In all three passages, then, *καινός* and not *κενός* is the word used. Cicero's remark *dici item τὰ καινὰ τοῦ πολέμου* seems clearly a reminiscence of Aristotle's *δοκεῖ γὰρ εἶναι πολλὰ καινὰ τοῦ πολέμου*. In Cicero's context the point is that people get scared over the new and unexpected turns war takes. The "contingencies of war" is substantially the idea he is borrowing from the Greek. And nobody who lived through the years 1914-18 will have trouble in seeing the fitness of the phrase *τὰ καινὰ τοῦ πολέμου*.

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A REPLY

November 23, 1936

To the Editor of *Classical Philology*
University of Chicago Press

SIR:

A review of my book *Comparative Greek and Latin Syntax* by Professor Whatmough which appeared in your issue of October, 1936, has come to my notice. Deprecating, as I do, the practice of replying to reviewers, I consider a reply justified when the reviewer has, in the opinion of the author, misrepresented the contents of the book.

Professor Whatmough prefaces his remarks with a diatribe in which his mixed metaphors are only less inscrutable than his intention in incriminating

me with certain writings which have nothing to do with me whatsoever. He proceeds to ridicule me for an alleged piece of bad English ("who are you talking to?" inserted parenthetically by way of colloquial explanation) and for saying that this expression "is vocative." If he had read my book with any care, he would have seen that I say nothing of the sort. The same observation applies to Professor Whatmough's strictures on my "passing over in complete silence" the genitive "of the sphere" (he will find this treated and this expression used on p. 43); to his statement that the distinction "between the accusative of the effect and the accusative of the affect [*sic*]" is "straightway forgotten"; to his remark about "the utterly false label 'metaphorical ablative'" (a label I nowhere use); to his dissertation on the relative functions of subjunctive and optative in final clauses (which is rendered otiose by the comment he will find in sec. 200 of my book, where the explanation he desiderates is given).

As for dogma, if Professor Whatmough is pleased to deny that Livy or Tacitus uses the present indicative for vivid effect (he will find his "annalistic" present hinted at in sec. 124) or to maintain that *id genus* in Cicero's *scis me antea orationes aut aliquid id genus solitum scribere* is a nominative absolute, he is at liberty to do so.

Of Professor Whatmough's tone I say nothing. But may I remind him of certain of his own words? Let him inquire what the scope of my book is (the reviews in *Greece and Rome* of October, 1934, and in the *Oxford Magazine* of January, 1935, will enlighten him) and then consider whether it is not he who has been guilty of a "criticism full of half-truths . . . that belittle a work by picking holes and ignoring the real object and intrinsic merits of the book." After all, to take a book of the limited compass and scope of mine on this subject of all subjects (Delbrück was a great man but, for all that, *grammatici certant et adhuc sub iudice lis est*) and "pick holes" in it is no very difficult task.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

R. W. MOORE

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BOOK REVIEWS

Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri. By H. IDRIS BELL and T. C. SKEAT. London: British Museum, 1935. Pp. x+63 with 5 pls.

The four papyri published in this volume were purchased from an Egyptian dealer during the summer of 1934. They are probably all from the same find. Of paramount importance is the unknown gospel, numbered Egerton Papyrus 2. It consists of four fragments, two of which are of considerable size. The larger part of the volume has been devoted to this important text. It appears in a diplomatic transcript; in a modernized text with accents, expansions, and restorations of many small lacunae; and in a translation. There is added an excellent Introduction, a full commentary, a reprint of the dozen apparent parallels from the canonical gospels, and a discussion of the character of these relationships and the probable origin of the gospel to which these fragments once belonged. One hardly knows whether to wonder more at the promptness or the thoroughness of this first publication. The close relationship to certain passages of the Gospel of John are obvious and must be explained by some source relationship. The parallels to Matthew, Mark, and Luke seem to me less definite, though the same events are treated. The editors have decided that the new gospel is not an imitation or patchwork made up from the known gospels, but that it represents a parallel tradition. For the historical and religious value of the fragment this is of greatest importance. A reviewer in the literary supplement of the *London Times* for April 25 criticized this view, holding rather that the parallels indicate that the author of this fragment must have had both John and the Synoptic Gospels before him when he wrote; that only on this hypothesis can the mixture of parallelisms be explained. On this point I must side with the editors. Source studies of historical works, once so popular in German scholarship, finally died out after every possibility of direct, intermediate, common, or related sources had been exhausted. Yet all such work was not entirely wasted. One of the final deductions has been that the Greek and Roman historians did not before the end of the fourth century become mere copyists, producing a new work out of a patchwork of various earlier books. It does not seem likely that a similar attempt will succeed in the source study of the new gospel fragment. The fact that in this fragment there is a mixture of elements parallel to statements in John as well as in the Synoptic Gospels may prove no more than that the author lived in a community where the primitive forms of two gospels circulated, or even where the traditions that preceded such gospels were

known. Even in the parallels to John, which are closer than those to the Synoptic Gospels, the new fragment seems not to present a tradition superior to that in John but rather an unconscious corruption of it. An animated discussion is sure to arise over this question, but it is hardly one that can be treated intelligently in a brief review.

The other papyri treated in this volume are some small fragments of a gospel commentary of the third century, a bit of a papyrus codex of the same date containing II Chron. 24:17-27, and a leaf from a liturgical book probably of the late fourth century. These are handled briefly, but adequately, by the editors. The gospel commentary is from a lost work and too fragmentary to suggest similarity to any known author.

The liturgical fragment presents two interesting prayers. To the second of these (l. 32) my colleague, Professor Bonner, adds $\eta\sigma[\tau\epsilon] \iota \alpha \varsigma$, all of which except $\tau\epsilon$ is quite clearly seen in the facsimile, and the word appears with the others of this list in II Cor. 11:27, the undoubted source of the passage. The same reading has been suggested by Mr. Milne, of the British Museum. Five excellent facsimiles complete the volume.

I may be permitted to mention a few minor matters that attracted my attention in reading. On page 4, note, the claim is made that IH for $\text{I}\eta\sigma\omega\upsilon\varsigma$ may be a specifically Christian form, though Traube (*Nomina sacra*) held to the contrary. I prefer Traube's view and find abundant parallels to this abbreviation by suspension in the business documents from Egypt, especially in the tax registers. On page 18, line 10 from the bottom, read $\pi\alpha\rho[\alpha\delta\omega\sigma\omega\nu]$. The only other misprint I noticed was a broken type on page 21. On page 22, to line 51, $\epsilon\mu\beta\tau\epsilon\mu[\eta\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma]$, I miss a reference to C. Bonner's "Traces of Thaumaturgic Technique in the Miracles," *Harvard Theological Review*, XX (1927), 174 ff. On page 33, in the comparison with P. Oxy. 840, a note could be added on the date by reference to C. H. Moehlmann, *The Combination Theos Soter as Explanation of the Primitive Christian Use of Soter as Title and Name of Jesus* (Rochester, N.Y., 1920; University of Michigan thesis, 1918). This study establishes an origin later than the first century for any work applying *Soter* as a title to Jesus. Therefore, P. Oxy. 840 is a fragment of a second-century gospel, while the implication is that Egerton Pap. 2 belongs to the first century. Were the fragment longer the absence of this title and the regular use of $\text{I}\eta\sigma\omega\upsilon\varsigma$ or $\text{K}\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ rather than the combination $\text{I}\eta\sigma\omega\upsilon\varsigma \text{X}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron\varsigma} \text{K}\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \eta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ might well be considered a proof of early date, and even of an origin independent of the canonical gospels.

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Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen. VON MAX MANITIUS.† Herausgegeben von KARL MANITIUS. ("Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen," Beiheft LXVII.) Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1935. Pp. xi+357.

One of the most useful tools which Manitius furnished scholars who are interested in the history of the transmission of Latin texts and in medieval culture was his compilation of the list of authors and texts cited in medieval catalogues. This work, *Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen*, published in *Rheinisches Museum*, Volume XLVII (1892), "Ergänzungsheft," was supplemented by him in the same periodical (LXXX [1931], 393-407); additional historical texts were listed in a series of articles entitled "Geschichtliches aus mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen in Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde" (XXXII [1907], 647-709; XXXVI [1911], 755-74; and XLI [1917], 714-32).

The present volume is a valuable legacy left by the distinguished medievalist to the world of scholarship. It marks a great advance over its predecessor in several respects. Much new material has been made available by the publication of the *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, of which three volumes have appeared, and of the *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Oesterreichs*, Band I, and by monographs on important centers like Murbach and Fulda. The most welcome feature in the new work for many scholars will be the extension of the terminus beyond the year 1300. Catalogues of libraries compiled as late as the sixteenth century have been included if the collection is obviously an old one, e.g., Fulda. In Italy this means the inclusion of such important libraries as Pavia, Perugia (erroneously given as Avignon in the text but corrected by the editor in his *Vorwort*), Urbino, Fiesole, and the collections of Cosimo de' Medici and Sixtus IV; in Germany the great collection of Amplonius von Ratinek; in France the library of the Sorbonne; and in England the libraries of Canterbury, Durham, Peterborough, Dover, etc. One example for England will indicate the difference: In the original work Manitius listed for Seneca the Younger two items from two libraries; in the new work the items cover two pages with fifteen libraries represented.

The plan of the new volume is more comprehensive in other respects. The less known Christian writers have been included, especially in the case of rare texts, and the writings of the Church Fathers if they deal with the *artes liberales*; also pseudo-antique texts, imitations, and epitomes of classical authors and translations (except Renaissance translations from the Greek). The number of pages has increased from 151 to 357, and the list of authors and works from 183 to 271. A welcome addition is the inclusion of works of Boethius other than the *De consolazione*. Incidentally it may be remarked that Boethius tops the list of authors (25 pages) with Cicero a close second (20

† Deceased.

pages). Seneca and Priscian follow with 14 and 13 pages, respectively, and Ovid, Vergil, and Horace with 10, 7, and 6 pages each. In general, the number of items cited for a given author corresponds roughly with the number of MSS that have survived. In one case, however, the picture is completely out of focus. Isidore of Seville is cited from only nine libraries, and yet about four hundred MSS or fragments of MSS have survived which were written before the middle of the ninth century. The *Etymologiae* should have been included, especially since the first book of this work, containing *De octo partibus orationis*, is actually listed four times. The number of occurrences of *De natura rerum* could easily be increased from Becker's *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, and the same thing is true of the *Synonyma* and *Differentiae*, which are mentioned here two or three times.

The material is arranged by countries. Germany is not restricted to its medieval boundaries but includes Poland, Hungary, Denmark, Scandinavia, and Iceland. The arrangement of library catalogues under each country is chronological.

In the footnotes a catalogue item is frequently more exactly defined, or a codex is identified with an existing MS, but the attempt has not been systematically carried out. The identification (p. 73) of the Gorze codex "Libri quatuor T. Livii et quintus imperfectus" as a MS of the fifth decade is almost certainly wrong. Other decades of Livy besides the fifth were divided into two parts; the Codex Thuaneus contains only Books vi-x. Since only a single copy of the fifth decade has survived and since MSS of the first decade were not uncommon, it is more likely that the codex in question contained Books i-v. Similarly, the St. Riquier MS (p. 143) containing *De vita et moribus imperatorum* is attributed to Suetonius, with a footnote stating that it could be the *Historia Augusta*. Both guesses are probably wrong. It is more likely that the *Epitome* of Aurelius Victor is meant; cf. page 189, "libellus ex libris Sexti Aurelii Victoris de vita et moribus imperatorum Romanorum a Cesare Augusto usque ad Theodosium" (Urbino), "Libellus de vita et moribus imperatorum brevius ex Sexti Aurelii Victorini a Cesare Augusto usque ad Theodosium" (Fleury), and "libellus de vita et moribus imperatorum a Cesare Augusto usque ad Theodosium" (Cluny).

The volume is provided with an Index of Authors and an Index of Works. I noted a few typographical errors: page 31, note 5, read Sicco for Sacco; page 341, note 1, read 1746 for 4746.

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Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos liber quartus. Edited by ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935. Pp. ix+568. \$6.00.

This edition is a synthesis of "widely scattered interpretations," intended neither for beginners nor even for advanced students, but rather for teachers

and other scholars to whom large libraries are inaccessible. The Introduction (pp. 3-79) treats briefly of the theme of the *Aeneid*; purpose of Book iv; its dramatic character, romantic elements, sources—Greek and Latin; literary, legendary, and religious allegory; originality of Virgil(*sic*); structure of Book iv; characters human and divine; Dido's philosophy; Aeneas' philosophy; fate, scene, composition of the *Aeneid*; later influence of Book iv; and manuscripts. The views set forth are supported by footnotes greatly exceeding in volume the bulk of the Introduction proper.

The text is printed in a beautiful type, but the plan of the work leaves room for but one or two, rarely three or four, lines to a page. Underneath the text is a critical apparatus consisting (1) of variant readings and (2) testimonia or lemmata, chiefly from the grammarians, except Servius, who is necessarily reserved for the Commentary below. This apparatus is ample but, according to the editor, not exhaustive. The Commentary is printed in double columns. The Addenda (pp. 538-44) bring the notes down to May 1, 1935. The Index (pp. 547-68) includes proper names and adjectives occurring in the text and references to significant words and topics throughout the whole volume, but not the names of the myriad authorities quoted.

Naturally the chief interest centers in the Commentary, which rivals Pauly-Wissowa in comprehensiveness of treatment. In addition to the major editions known to all, a multitude of dissertations, articles, and books—both famous and obscure—have been pillaged by the tireless editor. Especially welcome is an occasional good word for the neglected La Cerda. French, German, and Italian scholars are, of course, quoted incessantly, but workers in other foreign countries are also called upon to yield tribute. The reader is amazed that the compilation and digestion of so much material were accomplished along with routine labors during the course of only twelve years. The scope of the work is wider than that of Corso Buscaroli's *Il Libro di Didone* (1932) and deserves to stand on the shelf alongside of Eduard Norden's *Aeneis vi* (2d ed., 1916).

The magnitude of the Commentary might invite one to classify the volume as a variorum edition. This would be entirely wrong. Its aim is interpretation only, and this function of the notes is kept steadily in view. Even the fundamental grammatical and factual information available in school and college editions is for the most part taken for granted. Grammatical questions are raised only so far as they bear upon the meaning. No translations are offered except by way of summing up a discussion. As an admirable specimen of elucidation, neatly concluded at the last, may be mentioned the treatment of the notorious line *quam mihi cum dederit, cumulatam morte remittam* (l. 436), pages 358-61. The editor has a penchant for the study of folklore, to which Book iv invites here and there: for example, the excursus on superstitions connected with owls (l. 462), pages 375-77. The long note on blond hair (l. 590), pages 471-73, is mainly of antiquarian interest. The scores of parallels

quoted for *duris* . . . *cautibus* (l. 366), pages 315-17, are perhaps a yielding to erudition. Quite different is the discerning discussion of *pietas* (pp. 333-37) moderately documented, admirably thought out, and condensed—a genuine aid to the understanding of Roman religion and of the *Aeneid* as a whole.

While this volume may at first sight appal the reader because of the encyclopedic learning displayed, and may even give the impression of overdocumentation, a closer acquaintance will also win unstinted admiration of the editor's ability to marshal bulky material, to think through the forest of comment to sound and independent conclusions, and to state his views clearly and succinctly at the end. He has produced a most outstanding monument of American classical scholarship.

NORMAN W. DEWITT

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A Greek-English Lexicon, Part VIII: περιφραγή-σιτισμός. By H. G. LIDDELL and R. SCOTT. Revised by H. STUART JONES. Oxford, 1934. Pp. 1393-1600. \$3.50.

The reviser of the new Liddell and Scott

Yes, on to Pi,

When the end loomed nigh

is hardly likely to be represented by a new Hardy as having said to his coadjutor, like Liddell to Scott,

How I often, often wondered

What could have led me to have blundered

So far away from sound theology¹

To dialects and etymology;

Words, accents not to be breathed by men

Of any country, ever again!

For though the dialects have come into their own, the blunder now is not into but out of etymology, and the new edition is an etymological Mother Hubbard's cupboard. Greek etymology, to be sure, is less certain than some others, but the revisers seem either to have adopted a counsel of despair, altogether out of sympathy with the spirit of scholarly adventure, or else to be unwilling to reveal etymological discoveries to readers who are not specialists in comparative philology. Etymology, even when wrong, is less mischievous than much so-called "emendation," and, when right, does more than almost anything else to add interest even to the elements of a language. There is no reason to shun etymology merely because many of the derivations given in the old Liddell and Scott were based on pious theories framed long before the advent of strict scientific method. And even the meager stint of informa-

¹ theology : v. l. safe history.

tion doled out in a miserly way in the new edition is not so illuminating as it might have been. OE *fæthm* ("fathom") is quoted *s.v.* *περάννυμι*, but the meaning "outstretched arms, embrace" is omitted. In the addenda (now gathered together), add, *s.v.* *νήσος*, 2. ("alluvium"), cf. mod. Calabr. *nasida* (G. Rohlfs, *Scavi linguistici nella Magna Grecia* [1933], p. 154). *Addendis addendum*: *ὀλβεττέρ'*, i.e., *ὀλφ-* (acc. sg.). "basket," com. adesp., *Harv. Stud.*, XXXIX (1928), 1 ff. Schwyzer's (*Gr. Gram.* [1934], p. 35, with n. 1) and others' criticism, that many meanings peculiar to epigraphic texts are omitted, is well founded.

There are other reasons than those of complete omission that make dictionaries inadequate; as Marouzeau puts it, "Rien n'est aussi peu fixé que le sens du mot; le mot n'est pas en réalité ce qu'il est dans le dictionnaire ... n'existe pas en soi, il n'a de réalité qu'incorporé à la phrase." Fuller quotation than this dictionary gives, not mere citation, is necessary if the reader is to perceive the shades of connotation of forms which range, in their contexts, from "common" to "particular" (*usuell* and *okkasionell* in Paul's terminology), and then, through expansion and obsolescence, cause those lexical displacements in which semantic change consists (e.g., *πλημύλεια*, *πλημύλημα*), but which elude the linguist and will continue to elude him so long as words are classified solely by a phonetic instead of also by a semantic arrangement. The typographical devices adopted in the new Liddell and Scott, apparently with the object of saving paper, make it even more difficult to trace historically such lexical displacements. Despite, therefore, the wealth of new material which has been incorporated into this new edition, for which he can have nothing but gratitude, the comparative philologist still finds it disappointing in many respects.

Even the non-specialist may properly demand from a good dictionary information, which ample quotation is the best means of giving, about the significant arrangements of linguistic forms in actual usage (order, selection, phonetic modification, and modulation in the phrase). Thus *πονωπόνηρος*, with which Wackernagel (followed by Brugmann-Thumb) sought to enrich the Greek language, is passed over in silence, in favor of *πόνω πονηρός*; here a problem more than linguistic is involved.

πασήματα νεκρῶν is defined as "dead corpses"; *πινόδομαι*—read *litterae* (not *literae*); *πράσσω*—read *ἐπραξάμην*; *πλάτυρ*—(Hesych.) is at least in part Messapic (*PID*, III, 37); *σᾶπερδής*—*Pers.* v. 134; *Σαννίται*—cf. [Scylax] 16.

Σιμαλῖς (omitted altogether), an epithet of Demeter at Syracuse, is acceptable at *Ath.* 109 A, cf. Lat. *simila*, *similago*, notwithstanding *Ἰμαλῖς*, *ibid.* 416 B–C. The situation may be comparable to that in *σῦς:ῦς*, or *Σιμαλῖς* may be the true Sicel form (*PID*, II, 473), apparently not connected with *σεμίδαλις*. *σίνομαι* seems to be an example of *σ-* from *συ-*, on which an interesting suggestion of Darbishire's (*Rel. philol.*, p. 266) still remains to be worked out; if so, its etymology is clear.

There are certain inconsistencies in this part, as in Parts I-VII, in the marking of quantities. In such matters as elision, aphaeresis, and crasis the practice and example of editors of Greek texts are dubious and far from helpful to the makers of dictionaries.

J. WHATMOUGH

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Claudius: The Emperor and His Achievement. By ARNALDO MOMIGLIANO.

Translated by W. D. HOGARTH. New York: Oxford University Press, 1934. Pp. xvi+125. \$2.25.

This little book is a highly concentrated synthesis of Claudius' political achievement. Its purpose is to show that Claudius intended to preserve Roman tradition, but, despotic as he was and yielding to certain trends within the empire, he, even more than Gaius, destroyed the Augustan conception of the principate. The author has made no attempt to study every relevant policy of Claudius' administration. Indeed, certain important aspects receive a bare mention (e.g., the extension of the Roman citizenship so vital for this study) or are arbitrarily excluded (e.g., the contribution to the material welfare of the empire; see justification on p. xii). Like the good craftsman that he is, Professor Momigliano has contrived his known facts into a remarkable delineation of this emperor, but he has not always subjected them to critical examination. Thus the proposed "systematic account of Claudius' government" has not been fully realized.

The opening sentence in the English edition, "The text of this book has been revised throughout: corrections have been made and the treatment of many points has been amplified," is an overstatement. In the text proper this reviewer has noticed only the addition of two and a half lines on page 28, attributing to Claudius the recognition of the cult of Attis, one irrelevant line on page 63, the wise omission of Teanum Sidicinum as a colony in Italy (p. 64), one sentence on the probable grant of municipal status to Verulamium by Claudius (p. 66), and one paragraph on his Palestinian policy (pp. 68-69). Line 3 on page 75 seems to have been contributed by the translator; two sentences on Claudius' own *apologia* before the gods in *Apocolocyntosis* (p. 137 of the Italian original) have been omitted. On the other hand, substantial, even generous, additions have been made in the notes. The Bibliography, though by no means exhaustive, is refreshingly up to date, and stands out as a genuine contribution to scholarship.

The translator has done an excellent job. He happily corrects the vague phrase, *il parziale contrasto chiarirà il limite di Claudio* (p. 18), by saying, "The contrast . . . helps to define his personality" (p. 4). And "the *incolae* [attributed to a *municipium*] may have had the right to vote for municipal magistracies but not to hold them" (p. 67) is clearer than the original *con il diritto elettorale attivo, ma non con quello passivo* (p. 125). On page 85 one

line of the original is missing. After the seventh line from the bottom there ought to be inserted these data: pp. 57 ff.; Münzer, "Caeles Vibenna u. Mastarna," *Rh. Museum*, Vol. LIII (1898), to be followed by "pp. 596 ff., etc.," of the sixth line.

The first chapter, "The Man of Learning" (pp. 1-19), is full of constructive suggestions. The intellectual development of Claudius, the genesis of his political views, and especially his conviction that Rome's greatness consisted in a progressivism founded on tradition are traced effectively. The fourth and last chapter, "*Apocolocyntosis Divi Claudii*" (pp. 74-79), is a perfunctory notice of that satire. The author not only regards Augustus' attack on Claudius as just, but affirms that "the choice of Augustus . . . as Claudius' accuser" is "an impassioned historical judgement and a keener sense of the conflicting purposes of Claudius' reign than any later historian has shown" (p. 77). When does burlesque stop being burlesque might be a question to the point.

The actual policies of Claudius are discussed in the third and fourth chapters, entitled respectively "Religious Policy" (pp. 20-38) and "The Policy of Centralization" (pp. 39-73). Professor Momigliano contends that "even in his religious policy" which "was necessarily fundamental to his whole work as a ruler," Claudius' desire to preserve Roman tradition "was no more than superficial" (p. 27). "Preoccupied with the need for imperial unity, Claudius could not overlook the potential value of admitting, if not welcoming, religious beliefs very different from the old religion of the State. . . ." (p. 28). This theory does not fit the evidence. It is mainly the result of the common illusion that Claudius "officially recognized the cult of Attis, including its festival in the Roman calendar and reorganizing its priestly colleges" (p. 28). A statement by Lydus, a Byzantine monk of the sixth century, has been worked to death by the historians of the oriental cults whom Professor Momigliano follows unquestioningly. Now Lydus simply states (*De mens.* iv. 59) that the sacred pine tree, symbolizing Attis, was carried for the first time to the temple of Cybele in Rome in the reign of Claudius. If this police permit (was it more than that?) is interpreted as an official recognition of the cult of Attis, it may be concluded just as legitimately that the privilege given the Phrygian Galli under the Republic (Cic. *De leg.* ii. 40), as well as during the reign of Augustus (Dion. Hal. ii. 19. 5), to mourn their god and sing his praises in the streets of Rome while soliciting alms for the temple, was also equivalent to an official recognition of this cult. The proof that Claudius reorganized the priestly colleges of Attis exists nowhere, nor has Professor Momigliano furnished it.

The significance of the proscription of Druidism is not recognized. It is debatable whether the Eleusinian mysteries, which Claudius attempted to introduce into Rome, were "a new, and from his point of view, dangerous element in the religious life of the city" (p. 28). Some light might be thrown on

this problem by recalling that the old Latin divinities had long been metamorphosed into Greek equivalents. The process had gone so far that by the time of Horace and Ovid there was no pure Latin mythology left. The Romans, captives of the higher culture of Greece, placed themselves at the service of that culture, religion not excepted, diffusing it wherever they went. One hundred and ten years before Claudius' accession to the throne, Cicero had said: "Sacra populus Romanus a Graecis adscita et accepta tanta religione et publice et privatim tuetur, non ut ab illis huc adlata, sed ut ceteris hinc tradita esse videantur" (*II Verr.* v. 187). It is precisely of the rites of Demeter and Persephone that Cicero is speaking here—those rites out of which the Eleusinian mysteries developed, and to which they always stood in close relation. Further, the Eleusinian mysteries proper had had a strong appeal for some of the most conservative Romans (Claudius' two heroes, Cicero and Augustus, had been themselves initiated into them); and a version of them had long been adapted for the usage of Roman women (Cic. *De leg.* ii. 37). The attempted introduction of these mysteries into Rome, therefore, seems more in the nature of a progressive reform based on tradition than a violent attack on that tradition.

In regard to emperor worship, the point is not whether Claudius looked upon it more or less complacently, but whether he introduced anything contrary to Augustus' policy. This is the more pertinent since the thesis of this book is, as already stated, that Claudius destroyed Augustus' work. Professor Momigliano discovers inconsistency in Claudius' policy concerning the Jews (p. 29), and this despite his clear understanding of this emperor's point of view that Judaism was to be respected as a legitimate possession of the Jews, but that it was not to be tolerated the moment it became an aggressive proselytizing organ, or when it caused internal dissensions that disturbed the peace. Much of the confusion springs from the author's acceptance of the two edicts in *Jos. Jew. Ant.* xix. 280-85, and xix. 287-91 as genuine. Lack of space forbids an examination of the problem of the Jews of Alexandria, and of the author's endeavor to connect that problem with that of the synagogue in Rome. The contention that Claudius was the author of a rescript against violators of tombs in Galilee, and that this rescript was the outcome of the accusation against Christ's disciples that they had done away with his body, is highly controversial.

The fourth chapter aims chiefly at showing that centralization was effected by destroying the authority of the Senate. "In theory his [Claudius'] attitude to the Senate was one of genuine respect, and he showed the most earnest desire for its collaboration. . . ." (p. 39). But it is contended also that whatever honor, power, and authority (pp. 40-41) he conferred upon that body "was no more than an external and delusive show of respect. . . . In all essential matters Claudius worked against it" (p. 41). The organization of the secretariat is cited as conclusive evidence of a desire to take power away from the Senate (p. 42), and check the influence of the Roman aristocracy

(p. 43). It is of course true that in the long run the imperial chancery took over the judicial, administrative, and policy-shaping functions that had formerly belonged to the Senate. But it is something else to claim (1) that this was precisely Claudius' aim and (2) that this result was achieved during his reign. May there not be another approach to this problem? Claudius, it would appear, relied upon the Senate more heavily than any of his predecessors. A comparison of the number of senators and knights constituting the *amici Caesaris* reveals these proportions: Augustus—ten senators, eight knights, four of uncertain rank; Tiberius—fourteen senators, seven knights, two of uncertain rank; Gaius—four senators, one knight; Claudius—twenty senators, three knights (see Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms* [9th–10th eds.], IV, 60–65). This situation would seem to modify Professor Momigliano's theory, at least in so far as concerns the formulation of policies.

"The Senate, already shorn of authority by [the establishment of the secretariat], was rendered helpless by all possible means" (p. 43): viz., a new *adlectio*, and the creation of new patricians (p. 44); the grant of the *ius honorum* to the Gauls (p. 45); the judicial authority conferred upon imperial procurators in the senatorial provinces (*ibid.*); the enlargement of the *fiscus* and corresponding restriction of the *aerarium* (pp. 46–47). There is some truth in all this, but Professor Momigliano's interpretation is too sweeping. He discovers signs of hostility to the Senate even in the establishment of a *procurator aquarum* in the city of Rome (p. 46); some minor military reforms (pp. 47–48); the financing of the *frumentationes* by the *fiscus* (pp. 49–50); the offering of "special inducements to importers of corn" (p. 50); the abolition of two defunct offices, that is, the *quaestor Ostiensis* and the *quaestor Gallicus*, and the establishment of a *procurator portus Ostiensis* (p. 51). That Claudius was earnestly striving to establish an honest and efficient administration, and that, to secure it, it was unavoidable not to step on the Senate's toes, have not been taken into account. In line with his thesis Professor Momigliano does not question the charge that Claudius put to death 35 senators, and 221 or 300 knights. That Claudius "set himself to achieve uniformity and equal status for the provinces, and do away with their inferiority to Italy," and that he "was forced to appeal to the provinces in order to make head against the privileged classes, and to check the predominance of the Italian nucleus in the army" (p. 63) are anticipations of a later development, although it will readily be admitted that he did pave the way. On page 24 it is stated that Claudius "felt the need" to base the "government upon the army (that is to say, mainly upon the Italian lower middle class and proletariat)." No attempt has been made to show when and why he changed his mind.

This friendly criticism does not minimize the fact that Professor Momigliano has given us a useful study of Claudius' character, and the fullest exposition of the Claudian policy in any language. No critic can fail to be impressed with his scholarship and stylistic power, and even—with some reservations—that bold originality which leads him to read in his sources more

history than they contain. The steadfast admirers of Tacitus and Suetonius will like his book for, like the Claudius of those writers, his Claudius too remains a pathetic figure who aims in one direction, but drifts into another, sucked by a current he cannot control.

VINCENT SCRAMUZZA

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The Time Element in the Aeneid of Vergil: An Investigation. By RAYMOND MANDRA. Williamsport, Pa., 1934. Pp. xxiii+256.

The discrepancies in the *Aeneid* and Vergil's handling of the chronological moments in his story have long constituted staple topics in Vergilian research. The interrelation of these two themes is of such a nature that study of the one inevitably leads into consideration of the other. This holds good, therefore, of Dr. Mandra's investigation. The author has elaborated into a veritable volume discussion of questions which numerous critics have dealt with in passing comment, in an article, or in a few pages of a book.

Dr. Mandra's book owes much of its rather unnecessarily generous compass to an exhaustive critique of the view of F. Conrads, set forth in *Quaestiones Virgilianae* (Trier, 1863), that the wanderings of Aeneas last at the most a space of three years. As a preliminary to refutation, large portions of Conrads' paper are reprinted verbatim and his views are thus endowed with a contemporary significance to which, in the present state of Vergilian scholarship, they have small claim. This section of Dr. Mandra's inquiry extends through some seventy pages, and should have been condensed.

The critical examination (pp. 112-47) of Heinze's tabulation of the chronology of the poem has a greater timeliness. In the course of his discussion both of Heinze's "time table" of events and of the contents of the few additional pages and footnotes devoted by the great German critic to the subject, Dr. Mandra endeavors to reconcile the two divergent accounts of the circumstances attending the death of Palinurus. On page 147 it is asserted by Dr. Mandra that he has removed the "Palinurus episode" from the "inconsistencies" of the *Aeneid*. According to his argument, it is necessary merely to assume that the voyage over the calm night sea described in the version given at the end of Book v was followed by the stormy weather and rough seas referred to by Palinurus in his plea to Aeneas in Book vi (cf. ll. 354-55). Hence, "without much effort a reader may imagine" that, while the hapless pilot was being tossed for three days and nights into sight of Italy, to which he swam on the fourth day, the fleet of Aeneas was spending a commensurate time—*credite, posteri*—on the voyage from Sicily to Cumae—and at that Notus was blowing a gale! No such explanation can be hailed as a final removal of this old crux.

In several instances Dr. Mandra has clarified, not to say improved on, Heinze's picture of the chronology. However, our author is prone to display

an overnicety in picking flaws, as when he disapproves of Heinze's method of reckoning the events of Books viii-x from night to night on the ground that it gives "more importance to darkness than to daylight, as if the *Aeneid* needed a deepening of its somber colors." This assumption is wholly unjustified inasmuch as Heinze merely preferred to begin his reckoning at the point where Vergil sets the first definite event of the action in Book viii, i.e., at night. Cartault, whose chronological assignment of the events of viii-x (*L'art de Virgile*, II, 640) Mandra pronounces (p. 169, n. 315) "vague" and "somewhat misleading," adopted the same natural method. Perhaps it was this disparaging estimate of the merits of Cartault's chronology that induced Dr. Mandra to forego explicit consideration of an important difference between the chronological grouping of the events of viii-x as presented by Heinze and the French scholar. Mandra, like Heinze, synchronizes the epiphany of Iris to Turnus (ix. 1-22) and the consequent attack on the Trojan camp with Aeneas' arrival at Pallanteum and the celebration of the festival of Hercules, and assigns these incidents to the third day. In accordance with this tabulation the sally of Nisus and Euryalus must be, and is, assigned by Mandra to the night of his third day. But, as Cartault has pointed out (ii. 659), the poet, with unusual precision, makes clear by ix. 10-11 the fact that, when Iris is spurring on Turnus to the attack, Aeneas has departed from Pallanteum and joined the Etruscan host near Caere. In other words, it is, according to Mandra's reckoning, the fourth day, and it is during the night that follows this day that the expedition of Nisus and Euryalus occurs. The tragic futility of the mission of the two young heroes is thus thrown into stronger relief; if they had won through to Pallanteum, they would not have found Aeneas there.

Chapter iv presents Dr. Mandra's reconstruction of the chronology of the action of the poem, and the book closes with several appendixes. The data which these contain, ranging from points in Vergilian word usage to elaborate astronomical tables and scientific reports on the flora of Italy and Tunis, are, of course, intended to support the author's theories as to the seasons forming the fictional background of Aeneas' travels and sojournings. In summary the most novel of Dr. Mandra's contentions are that most of the voyaging of the Trojans is portrayed as occurring in the winter season, that after the first arrival in Sicily a year was spent in founding cities, and that the stay in Carthage covered something over a month—January and part of February.

The reviewer cordially sympathizes with the critical principles enunciated by Dr. Mandra when he asserts that the narrative of the *Aeneid* should not be measured by the wooden standards applicable to a modern detective story (p. 109, n. 236) and inveighs against the type of critic who presupposes that all blemishes are due to the poet's inability to revise his work. As has been shown by V. Henselmanns (*Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis* [Aschaffenburg, 1914], a valuable treatise which Dr. Mandra seemingly did not consult), the technique inherited by Vergil from the Alexandrians and developed by

him taught him to concentrate his best efforts on making a particular speech or scene effective, often to the neglect of factual logic. A poet who, notwithstanding the wholesale cremation and burial which have taken place and in despite of the comparatively brief time in which the war has been going on, can make Latinus say (xii. 36) that the plains are whitened by the bleached bones of the Italian dead, really illuminates his own art. Yet much of the curious learning gathered enthusiastically by an author who is frequently willing to judge Vergil as a poet, and such typically naïve comments as that made on page 15, to the effect that the timber for the fatal horse could have been gathered only during the preceding logging season, hence that Troy fell in the summer, are due to the application of the philosophy of Vergilian criticism espoused by the prosaic, perfectionist school.

This inconsistency in critical attitude, a certain lack of sense of proportion, and a rather pettifogging tone displayed in dealing with the work of predecessors are the main faults of a book which, nevertheless, students of Vergil will find useful in the formation of a point of view, even though they must confess themselves unable to accept many of the author's findings.

DUANE REED STUART

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The Greek Particles. By J. D. DENNISTON. New York: Oxford University Press, 1934. Pp. lxxxii+600.

A book on Greek particles, after a century almost silent on this subject, will be welcomed, even by a Greekless world. One may safely predict, too, that this comprehensive and scholarly work will not be superseded for another century. It is both a monumental and a readable book. Not often has material necessarily encyclopedical been treated in such a lucid and delightful style.

The introductory chapter on origins and functions, where the fundamental distinction between adverbial particles of emotion and nuance and the connective, apodotic, and corresponsive is established, gives the needed key to the closely packed chapters on the individual particles. The primary note, however, of the whole book is struck in the section on the stylistic importance of particles. Such a chapter on the contribution of particles to the color of styles, the variations in their frequency in different periods and writers, and the diversity in their use caused by dialogue, exposition, and the play of emotions, has long been desired.

On origins, Professor Denniston modestly disclaims competence in etymology and is skeptical of its value. He holds only that adverbial uses have in general preceded the connective. To this rule the exceptions are *ἄρα*, *γάρ*, *ὅτι*, *καί*, and *τε* which cannot be traced back to an adverbial stage. After so explicit a statement, can it be a survival of an earlier etymological faith, despite the recantation, that accounts for the inconsistency in still retaining an adverbial *γάρ* in *καὶ γάρ* and certain uses of *ἀλλὰ γάρ*? To the same cause

may be ascribed an overinsistence elsewhere on the priority of the adverbial forces of particles. Most particles must have had a long preliterary life in folk speech. Connective as well as adverbial particles must have developed in that slow progress to logical thought and speech that gave birth to literary expression. Dogmatism about this early stage based on epic usage is unsafe. The peculiarities of epic style may be due as much to the exigencies of oral composition as to primitivity. For oral composition moves swiftly and easily with the ebb and flow of interest and emotion rather than with the halting steps of logic. Connective particles are more alien to its swift movement.

This quest for primitive forces tends to prejudice the author's interpretation of *ἄρα οὖν* and *δὴ* in Homer and to cause some confusion of connective and adverbial uses. The inferential force of *ἄρα* and *οὖν* is said to be only in embryo and *οὖν* not yet connective despite *μὲν οὖν*. *δὴ* too, it is claimed, is only affirmative in Homer, although the apodotic use is conceded later (p. 24). Surely the *ἄρα* in the common phrases *τοῖ' ἄρα*, *ὥς ἄρα*, *τῇ ῥα*, and *ἐνθ' ἄρα* must be explained as resumptive, and its frequent use after *ἐπεὶ*, *ὥς*, and *ὅτε* clauses as apodotic. *μὲν ἄρα* is used as a particle of transition (*Od.* ii. 434 *et al.*) to conclude and dismiss, even as *μὲν οὖν* is. *τ' ἄρ* in questions of transition (*Il.* i. 3; iii. 226) is probably another instance of this use. For this reason I doubt whether "interest" is adequate as the basic meaning of *ἄρα* even in Homer. There is always some suggestion in *ἄρα* of the relevancy of what is told to the action or speech just before—which is a first step at least toward the connective force.

Again, in the treatment of *γάρ*, the same etymological-adverbial bias leads the author to an intermediate position between the "for" and the "adverbial *γάρ*" adherents. Though stoutly defending "for" as the normal meaning, he admits the survival or revival of the adverbial *γε ἄρα* force (interpreted as "this at any rate is true [*γε*], as I realize [*ἄρα*]") in a few cases of *καὶ γάρ* in dialogue, progressive *ἀλλὰ γάρ*, and (doubtfully) some *εἰ γάρ* wishes. The inconsistency of positing two different explanations of the idiom *ἀλλὰ γάρ* is defended by the necessity for a like inconsistency in explaining *καὶ γάρ*. But most of the doubtful cases of *καὶ γάρ* (pp. 109–10) which have caused Mr. Denniston's apostasy are clearly instances of the elliptical *γάρ* in answers of assent and approval or their opposites, so ably treated in Section V of this chapter. *καὶ* bears its common force here of "also," "too," and "further." In progressive *ἀλλὰ γάρ* the use of *γάρ* is similar to that in progressive *γάρ* questions—the logical development of which Mr. Denniston has admirably traced in Section VI. According to the author, the *γάρ* in questions arrived at a transitional (adverbial) force by a course just the reverse of the *γάρ* in *ἀλλὰ γάρ*. Beginning with an explanatory force, it became stereotyped in a sense alien to its original connective significance. The *γάρ* in both transitional idioms should be explained in the same way. I do not believe, however (as Mr. Denniston wrongly infers from pp. 50–51 of my thesis), that the use in questions originated from the omission of *ἀλλά*. The question and the *ἀλλά* per-

form parallel functions in transition but in different ways, ἀλλά warning the hearer of a change in the course of the thought and τί indicating progress to a new. The use of γάρ in both idioms is an idiosyncrasy of the nimble Greek mind which telescopes explanation and that of which it gives the explanation. A γάρ clause may reveal at the same time transition, surprise, objection, for a similar economy is shown with emotional γάρ, and the explanation of the emotion or transition. I note in passing that an instance of progressive γάρ in questions, which is said to be absent from Plato, occurs in *Hip. Maj.* 285.

In the excellent chapter on καί, I would suggest that the καί in ἡ καί does not denote that subjectively the two ideas separated by ἡ must both be kept in mind, but merely stresses the new possibility as more remote or a climax. To the particle μέν Mr. Denniston is inclined to concede only a limited and doubtful survival in Attic in its primitive emphatic force. I question whether the use of emphatic μέν is so limited in Attic Greek as Mr. Denniston holds, and whether the cases of solitary μέν can be so easily explained away as elliptically antithetical. Many examples cited under preparatory μέν are really, where no precise contrast is in mind, solitary and emphatic (e.g., *Xen. Mem.* i. 4. 5; ii. 6. 21; *Symp.* iv. 62). Inceptive μέν, a method of getting the attention at the beginning of a speech, is emphatic in function. It is not peculiar to Attic, but begins in Homer (e.g., *Il.* xi. 138; *Od.* xxi. 312; 344 *et al.*) where emphatic μέν is admitted. From Mr. Denniston's list of examples of emphatic μέν, which he claims (p. 364) could not be materially increased, many indubitable instances have been omitted (e.g., *Xen. Mem.* ii. 6. 11; ii. 6. 4; i. 11. 56; *Cyr.* ii. 4. 19; *Symp.* ii. 4). A full discussion of solitary μέν, however, would lead beyond the compass of a review and must be reserved for another occasion.

May I make a few additions to the corrigenda? οὖν, emphasizing prospective μέν, is said (p. 473) to be unknown to Attic orators except Hypereides. An indubitable instance is found in *Dem. Phil.* i. 15. "Ἀλκίσιππος should be read (p. 334) for "Ἀλκίσιππος and *Xen. Cyr.* vi. 1. 7 for vi. 1. 8 (p. 348). Some mention of the particles αὖ and νυν might have been expected in a comprehensive treatment of this subject.

The one regrettable defect in a book so indispensable to every Greek student is the lack of indexes. As a book of reference it is most difficult to use. May we hope that a second volume, with indexes of particles and authors, will soon be published? A work of such rare scholarship should not be marred by a mechanical omission.

GENEVA MISENER

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Bibliotheca scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum. Edited by L. JUHÁSZ. Leipzig: Teubner, 1933-35. M. 1-6.60 each.

Professor Juhász of the University of Szeged, Hungary, known also as the founder of the Academia Humanistica, is the energetic promoter of this new

series of Latin texts. The plan is to make available hitherto unpublished or scarce works, both prose and poetry, of the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries. Among the more interesting of the ten fascicles sent for review are an edition of Tito Vespasiano Strozza's *Borsias* and *Bucolics* (by Fögel and Juhász), Naldo's *Elegies* (by Juhász), Corsino's *Compendium* of the life of Cosmo de' Medici (by Juhász). Several of the others contain works by Hungarian writers of less general interest. Each fascicle contains a very brief Introduction, critical apparatus, and an Index of Names. Eleven other fascicles have appeared, including works of Thomas Seneca, Bartolomeo della Fonte, and others. Some interesting editions are promised for the future: John of Garland's *Integumenta* (Born), Dante's *Epistles* (Gothein), Ficino's *Epistles* (Kristeller), and works of Pannonius, Philelfus, and Coluccio Salutati.

The undertaking is a highly meritorious one and deserves the support of all persons interested in the Latin literature of the period covered, since the lack of published texts has been a serious handicap to students. Adequate support will no doubt make it possible to publish still other works. The series is really international in scope, as the editors of the separate fascicles are (in addition to Hungarians) Italians, Americans, Germans, and others.

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B. L. ULLMAN

"Yale Classical Studies," Vol. V. Edited by AUSTIN M. HARMON. New Haven, 1935.

The fifth volume of the "Yale Classical Studies" continues the same high standards of content and documentation which characterized the others of this series. The articles deal not only with strictly classical material but also with the oriental aspects of that field, where interest has been stimulated by the remarkable success of the excavations at Dura-Europus.

In the "Dramatic Construction of Tacitus' *Annals*," Clarence W. Mendell seeks a reason for the bias and occasionally incorrect impressions which the works of Tacitus present. Both the greatness and the weakness of the annalist lay in his sense of the dramatic, which caused him to choose his facts and build up his situations with a view to their dramatic effect. Thus the annalistic form is given an artistic unity, and the powerful picture presented has helped to fix a mistaken tradition which only recently has yielded to the attacks made by scholars during the last fifty years.

D. E. W. Wormell, in "The Literary Tradition concerning Hermias of Atarneus," reviews critically the literary sources which touch on this tyrant of Atarneus—a task which the publication of a papyrus fragment of Didymus' commentary to Demosthenes makes doubly necessary. He finds that, with the interpretations and inventions of the Hellenistic biographers, a proper historical tradition has survived and that the portrait drawn by them of Hermias is still recognizable.

A translation and extensive commentary on the historical and legal aspects of "A Third-Century Contract of Sale from Edessa in Osrhoene" is the work of A. R. Bellinger and C. B. Welles. This leather roll was drawn up in Edessa in May, A.D. 243, and was found in the excavations at Dura-Europus. The study is remarkably thorough, and the documentation is a welcome collection of material on all aspects of such sale contracts and on the history of Edessa. From a consideration of the document itself and its legal aspects the authors pass to the history and constitution of Edessa and thence to the problems of late Edessan chronology. The document proves that the city was a Roman *colonia* in A.D. 243; thus the chronologies of von Gutschmid and Babelon for the later period must be revised. On the basis of numismatic and literary evidence a new arrangement, which has much to commend it, of the period from the fall of Wael in A.D. 165 to the re-establishment of the *colonia* in A.D. 242 is proposed. It is unfortunate that the transcription and commentary on the text had to appear elsewhere.

Approximately one-half of the volume is devoted to "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art," by M. I. Rostovtzeff. This study is both stimulating and penetrating; the Bibliography is virtually complete. Future work in the field will of necessity begin here, and many topics are suggested which could be developed at length.

The article is divided into two main sections: a study of Parthian art in general and a consideration of the remains from Dura in the light of conclusions reached in the broader survey. Various types of evidence, such as architecture, sculpture, painting, glyptics, coinage, etc., are discussed, as well as the flying gallop and frontality. Particularly valuable is the extensive use of evidence from South Russia and Palmyra. With such a wealth of material only some of the many noteworthy points can be considered together with a few comments by the reviewer. Since the Bibliography is so valuable and complete, some of the material which appeared after the preparation of the study will be mentioned.

A summary of the source material is followed by a convincing attack upon the conventional position that the Parthians were nomadic barbarians tinged with philhellenic culture. The Parthians are recognized as the heirs of the Achaemenidae even more than of Alexander and the Seleucidae—a fact for which still further support might be found in classical writers.

The treatment of Parthian art in Iran is peculiarly difficult since not all the monuments and almost no excavated material from there have been published. The recent appearance of Herzfeld's *Archaeological History of Iran* provides some further evidence, but the rock reliefs, though they have not yet received adequate attention, are certainly the most important of the available evidence. As Rostovtzeff points out, they form a continuous sequence of the development from the Achaemenian into the Sassanian epoch.

Numismatics have been little used in the study of Parthian art, and the discussion of this field by Rostovtzeff would have been of even greater value had

it been possible to determine where the coins were struck. The recently published work of R. H. McDowell on the coins from Seleucia shows that tetradrachmas were largely confined to Mesopotamia, and his present studies in Iran should identify the mints and localize the peculiarities of style which appear there. The identification of the non-Greek elements in the work of the die-makers should then be a simpler problem.

The reviewer feels that further identification of examples of Parthian glyptics can be made even with our present scanty knowledge through the changes in engraving technique which were taking place about this time, and in the shape of the seals themselves. As we acquire further feeling for the special characteristics of the Parthian period, and the ability to differentiate it from the Hellenistic and the Sassanian, we shall be able to utilize the designs for the same purpose to greater advantage. The problem of why almost no "Parthian" seals have been found in excavations on Parthian sites still remains.

We know far more of Mesopotamia than any other Parthian satrapy, and even here we are hampered by incomplete and inadequate publication. Some additional evidence is provided by the recently published sixth report on the German excavations at Warka. The clay figurines are probably the most numerous and illuminating of the smaller objects. Unlike Dura, Seleucia produced an exceptionally large number of these, the publication of which is now under way. The question of the "slipper" coffins, which, although they are admittedly Parthian in appearance, do not seem to occur in Parthian levels thus far excavated, resembles that of the Parthian seals. Neither Dura nor Ashur produced such coffins; at Seleucia they are apparently characteristic of the Seleucid levels. One has been reported from Parthian Warka.

The second part of the article begins with a brief sketch of the history of Dura and then proceeds to relate the discoveries there to the general problem. The question of the cultural ties of Dura with other regions is not entirely clear to the reviewer. Certainly the material from that site has some Mesopotamian affiliations, but the fact that the coinage used was from Antioch rather than from the royal Parthian mints is but one indication of its close relations with the Syrian cultural area. Connections with Iran, as Rostovtzeff has so ably shown, are extensive and clear. The architecture, pottery, and figurines of the region from Ashur as far south as Warka show that Eastern Mesopotamia and Babylonia belonged to another area where Hellenistic remains and remnants of earlier native cultures vied with Iranian ideas.

The problems of frontality and the flying gallop receive due consideration. With regard to the latter, a paper recently published by W. F. Edgerton establishes a good case for the independent development of the flying gallop in Egypt long before it appears in Minoan art.¹ Perhaps other cases of parallelism may yet be found to explain the wide use of this motif.

The article ends with a summary of the general conclusions reached: that

¹ "Two Notes on the Flying Gallop," *JAOS*, LVI (1936), 178-88 and Pls. I-V.

Hellenism within Parthia was less extensive and less permanent than heretofore realized; that Parthian art came more and more under the influence of Iran as time went on; that Parthia was the originator of an Iranian reaction against the Hellenistic introductions of Alexander and his successors; and that the period was one of flux in which a new art was coming into being.

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The Prefect of Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian. By OSCAR WILLIAM REINMUTH. (*Klio*, Beiheft XXXIV [N.F.], Heft 21.) Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935. Pp. xiv+155. M. 9.50; bound, M. 11.

This is a useful analysis of the sources which throw light on the position and function of the prefect of Egypt. The sources themselves are rarely quoted or even translated, but the deductions made from them are always accompanied by appropriate references. Since the prefect was, next to the absentee emperor, the supreme head of the state, with broad powers not only over the whole machinery of government but over the personal fate of every inhabitant, there are few aspects of Egyptian life during the first three centuries of our era which are not touched upon.

The chief desiderata in a monograph of this kind are completeness, clarity, and accuracy. In this sense it seems to me that Reinmuth's work has been well done. There are questions on which I should have indorsed other opinions than those which he has chosen, but it seems unnecessary to discuss these here. On the other hand, since the book will undoubtedly be much used as a guide to the sources, a few mistakes in the references and other minor details may be corrected: Page 29, note 4: for "2, 368, note 1" read "2, page 335 (additional note on 1, page 368, note 1)." Page 31, with note 2: *BGU*, IV, 1196, was dated by its editors *etwa aus dem 20. Jahre des Augustus* (not "c. 3/2 B.C."); but in any case the date does not claim the degree of precision which is implied in Reinmuth's context. Page 32, note 1: for "2, 68ff" read "1, 68ff." Page 41, note 2: for "P. Strass. 31, 32" read "P. Strass. graec. 31+32." This text is published in *Archiv*, IV, 122 ff. Pages 55-56: The words of Germanicus τοὺς δὲ ἀντιλέγοντας ἐπὶ τὸν γραμματέα μου ἀνάγεσθαι βούλομαι, οἷς ἢ αὐτὸς κωλύσει ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἰδιώτας <ἢ> ἐμοὶ ἀνανγελεῖ¹ do not mean that Germanicus "threatened with court action (in the court of the prefect?) those who should speak against his scribe" but are to be translated "I desire that those who object² be conducted to my scribe, who either will himself prevent private individuals from being unjustly treated or else will report to me." Germanicus here threatens no one, but merely promises fair

¹ Preisigke, *Sammelbuch*, 3924, ll. 22-26.

² I.e., those who object to the preceding orders, and perhaps in particular to the schedule of fair prices which Germanicus had established for boats and teams.

treatment to the Egyptians, who, as he had heard, were being mercilessly pillaged to provide for his maintenance and transportation.³ Page 106: The English words "illegal marriage" do not seem to me to correspond to any explanation of ἀγραφός γάμος which I can remember having seen. Page 137, bottom (under "Valerius Datus"): P. Lond. 935 and 936 are in pages 29-31 of Volume III.

In noting these and any other details which may need correction in the book, it should be borne in mind that the author's professional duties are performed at a distance of several hundred miles from any adequate library.

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The 'AMAPTIA of Sophocles' Antigone. By MINNIE KEYS FLICKINGER. ("Iowa Studies in Classical Philology," Vol. II.) University of Iowa: Published by the author, 1935. Pp. 82. \$1.25.

This is a doctoral dissertation of the graduate college of the State University of Iowa. The chapters discuss definitions of ἀμαρτία and the tragic hero, interpretations of the *Antigone* and its heroine, the character of Antigone, the burial of Polynices, and Antigone's guilt. There is an Appendix (on vss. 904-12) and a Bibliography. The specific problem of the dissertation is stated thus:

The problem with which we are confronted is to ascertain whether or not Antigone, as represented by Sophocles in his play of that title, was the victim of ἀμαρτία and, if so, what was its nature. In other words, was it the result of a hereditary curse, or due to her own character and resultant actions? [p. 15.]

The author believes that Antigone was the victim of ἀμαρτία, which in her case was "pride and personal antipathy," as chiefly exemplified by her "fatal error of conduct, viz. the self-willed administering of the symbolic rites a second time" (p. 73).

To determine Antigone's motive for the second burial the author justly deems it necessary to analyze and evaluate Antigone's character. Any criticism of the dissertation must therefore take into account the validity of its conclusions concerning Antigone's character.

To consider the author's interpretation of all disputed points would be impossible in the brief compass of this review, and a few instances must suffice. Mrs. Flickinger says: "It is hard to believe that Antigone is innocent, since her conduct was of her own choosing and she made no adequate defense of her actions" (p. 17). Yet, if Antigone had been impelled to her deed by the external forces of fate instead of by her deliberate choice, her "innocence" would have no dramatic value, for it is the very deliberateness of her choice

³ I also disagree with Reinmuth's next statement, that Germanicus "in every way conducted himself as if he were the emperor" during his stay in Egypt; but this is one of the questions on which opinions may and do differ.

that makes her of heroic stature. As to the adequateness of her defense, it is hard to see how she could have more clearly and forcibly expressed the moral and religious necessity of her choice—namely, to disregard Creon's decree and to yield to the obligation of burying her brother, devolving upon her as the nearest of kin, and inevitably blended with and humanized by her intense love for and devotion to him. The author herself translates and then quotes in the original (pp. 47–48) the passage which justifies this conclusion (vss. 450–70). Mrs. Flickinger says: "The best that can be said of Antigone's love is that it illustrates the saying that 'blood is thicker than water.' She buried Polynices because he was *her* brother" (p. 31). I think, however, that something better than this could be said of Antigone's love—namely, what the author herself quotes on the preceding page of her dissertation. Remove this personal element and the realism of the play and its modernity of appeal are at once seriously impaired.

Mrs. Flickinger implies that Antigone's death helps to substantiate her assertion that Sophocles left unanswered the question whether an individual should obey divine laws rather than state laws when the two conflict (p. 22). This could be true, of course, only on the assumption that there was no moral virtue in Antigone's burial of her brother. Admit that such virtue existed in her deed, and the question concerning the relative merit of the two laws when in conflict is thereby answered. The heroine's death does not affect the case, for the death of the protagonist incurs no implication of guilt. There have always been innocent victims in life and in its representation on the stage. Shakespeare's Ophelia is one, and the chief difference between her and Antigone is that, while Ophelia's temperament was submissive, Antigone's was assertive.

In one instance, at least, Mrs. Flickinger's interpretation is so literal that the psychological situation is overlooked. She says: "Ismene's love for Antigone was a finer type than Antigone accorded her, for Ismene was willing to die for Antigone but Antigone would not have done the same for her. Did she not herself declare that she would have risked death for no other than a brother?" (p. 46). An overwrought woman facing death cannot be held accountable to the laws of logic in this rigid manner. Emotion has swept away logic. We do not know what Antigone would have done under the imagined circumstances. We can judge only by our estimate of her character, not by her excited utterance at this point.

The author includes Knapp among those who believe that both Creon and Antigone are in the wrong (p. 65), yet Knapp says: "In the Antigone, so far as the main issue of the play is concerned, Sophocles meant to represent Antigone as wholly sinless and Creon as completely in the wrong" (*Amer. Jour. Phil.*, XXXVII, 300). Jebb's view is once distorted because of not being fully presented. Mrs. Flickinger says: "Jebb wrote that just as Creon 'overstepped the due limit when by his edict he infringed upon the divine law, so Antigone also overstepped it when she defied the edict'" (p. 66). The context

in Jebb's Introduction to the play, however, shows that he is merely proposing this as a possible interpretation. On the following page (p. xxii) he definitely rejects it, concluding thus: "But none the less does he mean us to feel that, in this controversy, the right is wholly with her, and the wrong wholly with her judge."

I feel that a just view of Antigone's character as revealed by the play itself removes any necessity of interpreting her motive for the second burial as being that of "pride and personal antipathy." On the contrary, her character indicates that she was actuated by the same high motive that impelled her to perform the first burial rites. If this were not true, we would lose sympathy with the heroine as the play progresses, but instead that sympathy increases. Finally Creon and the chorus also acknowledge their error (vss. 1261 ff.). The final moralizing of the chorus is based upon the error of Creon exclusively (vss. 1348 ff.). The author says that Antigone knew that the first burial rites were sufficient, and this proves that she repeated them, not with any lofty motive, but merely to thwart Creon (p. 73). Yet, if Antigone knew that the first rites were sufficient, how could she have thought that the repetition of those rites could thwart him? Even so, would a young woman, a princess about to be married to a noble and beloved prince, sacrifice her life in order to thwart an old man? After all, which is easier to believe, that Antigone buried her brother both times for love's sake and for conscience' sake, or because she wished to spite her uncle? I may perhaps be pardoned for still believing that Sophocles' *Antigone* has been and is now effective as a stage play because, as far as the audience is concerned, it is a duel between the divine and the human law, with complete vindication of the former. At any rate, it is true that Antigone's appeal to the divine law has strongly appealed to students of this play, as proved by the fact that the heroine's sublime vindication of it has been cited, quoted, or adapted by poets, dramatists, and historians ever since the time of Rucellai.

While I cannot agree with the author's conclusions, I am glad to acknowledge that she has read very widely in the literature of her subject and has presented some new and valuable material.

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Sallust. Von KURT LATTE. ("Neue Wege zur Antike," Vol. II [Interpretationen], Heft 4.) Teubner, 1935. Pp. ii+60.

Rarely does one find a detailed investigation of a classical author that does not at some point reach conclusions sharply at variance with those of earlier workers. The monograph under review, however, is almost unique in that it does not aim to refute any previous theory or substitute a new one. What it does is to throw into bolder relief than has hitherto been done elements of expression and structure which give a definite pattern of Sallust's style. Apart from the phenomena of asyndeton and chiasmus, previous studies of Sallust

have dealt largely with grammatical usage. Latte's study, taking the direction indicated, is from beginning to end filled with details, which are presented in three chapters and treated under the general topics of "Diction and Sentence Structure," "Narrative Style and Composition," and "Sallust's Personality and Period of Activity."

Sallust's speech and expression differ conspicuously from those of contemporary prose. This fact did not escape the notice of ancient critics, who offer abundant comment on his use of archaisms (generally censured), imitation of Thucydides, boldness in employing new formations, fondness for antithesis, and passion for brevity, which has ever been conceded to be the most outstanding peculiarity of his style. These early observations show clearly that in Roman literary criticism Sallust had a fixed place as a model of style at once definite and individual.

The following are a few of the topics to which special consideration is given by Latte: similarity and difference in the use of antithesis in Sallust and Seneca; inconcinnity, ranging from members used in phrases and clauses to the structure of entire periods; Graecisms (twenty-five examples noted), in the use of which Sallust strives to be the Roman Thucydides; differences in descriptions of battles in Caesar and Sallust (straightforward and with little change of subject in the one; complicated, irregular, and with surprisingly frequent change in the other); structure of speeches in Sallust, in which the leading thought rests fundamentally upon a single point of difference, which, however, by manifold details presents a specious diversity.

The monograph (pp. 29-35) gives a complete analysis of the *Catiline* and the *Jugurtha*, following which some of the conclusions reached are: Sallust brings forward and heightens the personality of the chief actors introduced, as in the case of Massiva, Jugurtha, and Marius in the *Jugurtha*; in the *Catiline* there is intentional omission of facts already known through the rich source material of the Ciceronian period, e.g., the order of business, course of discussion, and time and place of the senate's sessions of November 8 and December 5; realistic details in Sallust's descriptions are wholly wanting in the *Catiline* and rare elsewhere. Two examples from the *Jugurtha* are cited, that of the sleeping Nabdalsa on the discovery of Bomilcar's conspiracy (lxxi. 1-5) and the ascent of a fortress-crowned hill by an unnamed Ligurian soldier (xciv. 1-3). To these might well be added the terror of a night attack upon a Roman camp (xxxviii. 4-8), the siege of Zama (lvii. 3-6; lx. 3-7), and a battle scene (ci. 6-11) with Jugurtha wielding a bloodstained sword.

The modest little work passed here in brief review will be of service to anyone who wishes to study Sallust in detail. It shows acquaintance with much of the best criticism bearing on this author. The reviewer misses, however, any reference to Robolski's *Sallustius in conformanda oratione quo iure Thucydidis exemplum secutus esse existimetur* (Halis, 1881), or to von Carolsfeld's *Reden und Briefe bei Sallust* (Teubner, 1886).

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M. Iuniani Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi. Accedunt Prologi in Pompeium Trogum. Post FRANCISCUM RUEHL edidit OTTO SEEL. Lipsiae: B. G. Teubner, 1935. Pp. xvi+375. Rm. 10; geb., Rm. 11.20.

Students of Justinus will always feel grateful to Franz Ruehl for the enormous time and effort expended by him on the constitution of his, the first really critical, text of the epitomist of Trogus. Ruehl took into account approximately two hundred manuscripts of Justinus, fully fourscore of which he had seen and examined with his own eyes, and in two epochal publications he gave the results of the investigations on which he was to base his text.¹ And yet he apparently was not satisfied with the fruits of his labors. He had placed his greatest faith in MS C (saec. XI); unfortunately so, as he himself seemed to suspect, for it must have been with a weary and troubled sigh that he exclaimed: "Utinam codex C non extaret vel utinam eo supersedere possemus!"

This wish Otto Seel dramatically fulfils in the latest and easily most satisfactory text of the abridgment. In a long and penetrating article preceding the appearance of his new edition Seel argues conclusively that not C, but A and G (both saec. IX and of the class τ), give us the original most nearly.² Ruehl defended his high rating of C on the ground that the quotations of Justinus in Orosius were drawn from the archetype of this manuscript and that the archetype would therefore be of great age and value. But Seel shows that the situation is the reverse, namely, that C is dependent on Orosius in the passages in question. Orosius, according to Seel, had before himself a manuscript that had in large part become illegible (hence the many omitted portions in C), so that, where he did not care simply to paraphrase, he was sometimes obliged to alter his poor text; such alteration may well be attributed also to Orosius' desire to conform more closely to normal Latin usage than does Justinus, as well as to correct actual errors of fact, of which Justinus is found guilty; the copyist of C, having a similarly illegible manuscript (but probably not the very one used by Orosius, as Seel suggests), not only adopted the patristic writer's readings but often departed much further and in consequence offers a text replete with errors of almost every description.

The family τ too has many errors, but these are represented by Seel as being of a minor type, either of orthography or of arrangement or omission of words. The scribe was a poor Latinist, and there is therefore little evidence of conscious tampering with the text. The other two families, ι and π (the best MSS of which range from saec. IX-XIV), Seel demonstrates occupy

¹ See *Die Verbreitung des Iustinus im Mittelalter* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1871). Pp. 52. Also see "Die Textesquellen des Iustinus," *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Supplementband VI (1872-73). Pp. 160. Ruehl's edition of Justinus appeared in 1886.

² "Die Justinischen Handschriftenklassen und ihr Verhältnis zu Orosius," *Studi Italiani di filologia classica*, XI, Fasc. 4 (1934), 255-88, and XII, Fasc. 1 (1935), 40.

positions intermediate between τ and γ (C and D).³ This is indicated by the Orosian tradition. For ι and π are influenced by Orosius through γ , as their repeated compromise (especially frequent in the case of ι) between τ and γ reveals. One of the best examples adduced by Seel to illustrate this relationship is found at iv. 3. 5, where τ (and π) have *pridem*, Orosius and γ (D) *nuper*, and ι *nuper idem*; the difficulty undoubtedly lay in taking *pridem* with the meaning of *nuper*, but *pridem* has this meaning at xii. 6. 7, where the manuscripts agree, but where Ruehl emends.

The reason why these several classes of manuscripts were not appraised correctly at a much earlier date (though scholars already as far back as De Gutschmid, editor of the *Prologi* in Ruehl's edition, distrusted C) Seel properly attributes to Ruehl's inadequate critical apparatus. This offers in the main only variants from Justus Jeep's edition of 1859. But since Jeep did not use C, its true position could not be determined through Ruehl's apparatus.⁴ Seel collated, among other manuscripts, C, D, and G.

Except for the text itself, Seel's edition is a close adaptation of that of Ruehl, to whom he pays tribute on the title-page (cf. *Post Franciscum Ruehl*). Chapters of books and sections of chapters follow Ruehl's arrangement. The numbers designating these, however, are sometimes indistinct or not impressed at all (cf. e.g., pp. 68, 84, 98, 213, 258, 285). At the end there is an elaborate Historical Index, also taken from Ruehl, with only minor changes and corrections. The following additional corrections should be made: *s.v. Agensonae* (p. 327) read xii. 9. 2; *s.v. Hispani* (first item, p. 347) read xxxi. 3. 10; *s.v. Thespienses* (p. 366) read xi. 3. 8; *s.v. Tryphaena* (p. 367) read, for *Physeonis*, *Physconis filia*.

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³ Ruehl thought that D (saec. XIV) could be neglected with safety. But Seel points out that D has the same archetype as C and that it is consequently of the greatest value as a check on τ for Books i–xv inclusive, which are lacking in C (and for which Ruehl relied on ι). Seel designates C and D by the letter γ , but carefully distinguishes them, as he has discovered that the scribe of D is at the same time the second corrector of C.

⁴ It might be added that Jeep, largely following the practice of his day, used the few MSS that happened to be conveniently at hand. As these included A and G, Jeep's text is ironically superior to Ruehl's.

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